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21 April 1986

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REFLECTING BADGES FOR CHILDREN'S CLOTHES ADVOCATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Miloslav Vltavsky: "What Kind of Sewn-on Reflecting Patches?"]

[Text] When many years ago the textile industry managed to introduce rich colors into children's clothing, visible from greater distances, it seemed that they were here to stay. At that time many people were somewhat relieved: those in charge of traffic safety and a lot of others caring about the lives and health of children. It was not easy to convince some mothers that their offspring is better off when he/she is clearly visible on the road or in other public places.

Nevertheless, later on reflecting colors in clothing were replaced by reflecting stickers on school bags, and finally there are now more and more sewn-on patches in use. Apparent trifles suffice for achieving the same effect.

As it seems, though, these measures have gone only half-way. So far, the contrast patches are not very popular. The reason for it is not so much people's reluctance to sew them on children's clothing as their own imperfection. First of all, there is not a broad selection available, and so far the manufacturers have been unable to offer the material in bales, from which mothers could cut out designs to their or their children's liking. The worst thing is, however, that patches would last just two washings, sometimes not even that.

The only thing to be done, then, is for the manufacturers to ponder over the problem and try to solve it with more creativity. Such pondering, searching, or testing will bring valuable returns to the society through the saved life or health of every child whose figure was visible in time.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EASTERN BOHEMIAN COMMITTEE VIEWS WATER POLLUTION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by Jaroslav Michalek: "Concern for Cleaner Water"]

[Text] At present, eastern Bohemia boasts of an infamous first. It is the kraj which holds the republic's last place in cleaning municipal sewage. In spite of the fact that recently several new water-treatment plants have been put into operation, and many others are being built, this problem has to be considered as one of the most urgent in the kraj in the process of resolving the questions of the formation and protection of the environment. Although 60 percent of the population is linked to the public sewage system, most of the municipal sewer networks are inconsistent, with many cases of raw sewage flowing into public streams. Evidently, this is a cause of serious hygienic defects and environmental impairment.

Therefore, it is by no means a coincidence that the recent session of the eastern Bohemia KSC kraj committee devoted due attention also to these significant questions when discussing current tasks of the kraj water and forest management.

During the mentioned session, some good results were stated with justified satisfaction; one of the major ones being the cancellation of sulphite pulp production in Hostinne. By stopping the production in Hostinne they have succeeded in removing one of the most offensive water pollution sources in the kraj which resulted in a marked improvement of the water quality in the upper Elbe. However, this fact was not enough to solve completely all the problems connected with safeguarding the purity of eastern Bohemian water streams; the reason for it being approximately 200 recorded significant water pollutants. Unfortunately, many of them are tolerated by a proper legal exemption. Nevertheless, there are also many cases when enterprises unjustifiably dump untreated waste waters into rivers or streams without any legal exemption.

Therefore, it was fitting that the party authority reminded emphatically the communists in enterprise and plant management, and also those in national committees and pertinent administrative bodies about their responsibility for improving the situation. The reminder was addressed especially to comrades of the VCHZ Synthesia plant in Semtin, which is one of the largest industrial

polluters in the kraj, as well as to those of Tiba in Dvur Kralove and of some other enterprises. Included also were agricultural enterprises, where the irresponsibility of many cooperative and state farm managers considerably contributes to pollution of water sources, endangering their quality and health safety. This happens mostly when constructing dung or silo pits, as well as when applying fertilizers and pesticides.

The statement of the KSC kraj committee presidium pointed out: "Any toleration of irresponsible practices is at variance with social interests." It also called to attention the available feasibilities for improvement which so far have not been fully utilized. One of the effective forms is doubtless also a broader implementation of corporate financial means in safeguarding the construction of waste water treatment plants. Communities and smaller towns should bear in mind the possibility of building small waste water treatment plants within the framework of the action Z.

At present, it is not yet possible to predict the outcome of the kraj party session conclusions in the coming period, as regards concrete efforts to improve the water pollution situation in eastern Bohemia. Certainly it will not be a simple matter to get out of last place in attention to water purity. The acceptance of the conclusions of the session by itself will by no means contribute to a solution. However, in any case this is an example for other krajs as well. The question of water purity, which is one of the basic premises in the complex care for the formation and protection of the environment, requires indeed a complex solution, faced, without doubt, by communists as a priority everywhere.

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**ARTICLE DISCUSSES GALLIUM PRODUCTION, INCREASE**

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 85 p 2

[Article: "Gallium Travels into the World"]

[Text] Ziar nad Hron (from our correspondent) -- Twenty-two years ago gallium was first introduced in Czechoslovakia by metallurgic workers in the SNP enterprise, a diversified plant for the production of aluminum. It was the first 10 kilograms according to the "recipe" of Eng Michal Babinsky, CSc, researcher, inventor, and laureate of the Klement Gottwald State Prize.

Production kept expanding. Fifteen years ago it amounted to 500 kg of refined gallium. This year more than 3,300 kg of this rare and easily malleable metal will be produced. The Ziar metal workers obtain gallium from the waste generated in aluminum production. Parties both in our electrotechnical and electronic industries (it is being supplied especially to the Tesla plants) in all kinds of research and development institutions and abroad are showing great interest in gallium.

Eighty-five percent of the total production of this year is assigned for export. Gallium is well-known and favored in Japan, England, West Germany, Switzerland, and other countries.

Since the interest in gallium keeps growing, the SNP enterprise will increase its production capacity primarily by means of rationalization and modernization to such a degree that towards the end of the next 5-year plan at least 4,000 kg of gallium may be produced per annum. According to available data the production of aluminum in the CSSR amounts to roughly one-tenth of total world production, which is certainly of interest. Approximately 10 to 12 percent of gallium in the world comes from Ziar nad Hron.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

## DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK-HUNGARIAN COOPERATION SOUGHT

Athens | KATHIMERINI in Greece 4 Apr 86 p 4

/Article by N. Nikolaou: "The Greek-Hungarian Trade Transactions Are Continually Reduced"/

/Text/ In recent years, Greek-Hungarian trade has been facing problems. The drop in the total trade volume between the two countries started in 1984 and continued in 1985. If no measures are taken the situation will not be improved this year either. Our imports from Hungary reach 45 million dollars while our exports to it are limited to 18 million dollars. In other words, we have an adverse balance and this naturally prevents efforts for developing our transactions.

There are two reasons for the unfavorable turn Greek-Hungarian trade has taken which, in any event, experienced a crisis right after Greece's induction into EEC which, as is known, abolished the clearing system.

The first reason is tied to the limited Greek exports which are mostly fruits and other traditional farm products. Therefore, as things stand the possibility for developing our exports are limited unless they are enriched with new dynamic products, such as the industrial ones.

At the last meeting of the Greek-Hungarian Joint Commission on 5 February in Athens, the Greek side asked the assistance of the Hungarian delegation in increasing Greek exports and even presented a list of Greek products whose export is of interest to Greece. The Hungarian side promised to study it.

There is no doubt that trade with socialist countries has many peculiarities which are not related to the activities of market mechanisms and, therefore, the Greek side correctly tries to increase our exports through bi-statal agreements. However, in the case of Hungary this is not enough. This country differs greatly from the other socialist countries in the structure of its economy as well as trade. Its market is much more open and consequently easier to approach.

In every complaint of the Greek side that our exports do not fare well, the Hungarian officials say: "To a large extent this is your problem. You must exercise a more aggressive export policy. You must make known your products

to the Hungarian market. You must develop closer relations with the Hungarian enterprises; you must use more accurate marketing and better management.

The Hungarian model is known and does not need repeating. In any case, we must note that the private sector is undergoing full development. In the area of production it may have only a 10 percent part but in the distribution its role is far greater.

1. Toldy, an official of the Chamber of Commerce (an organization representing 1,000 state enterprises) informed a group of Greek newsmen of the situation and prospects of Greek-Hungarian trade and insisted particularly on the need of increasing contacts between the two sides. He said: "Exporters from Western countries frequently come to Hungary bringing samples and prices. The Germans, especially, when a problem arises, take the plane and arrive in Budapest. They are not limited to just sending letters or to making telephone calls. They come to the very place and solve their problems."

Greek exporters share this view and told us the government must find the Hungarian firms (and there are many which work on commission) and assign to them the study of the Hungarian market and the promotion of our exports.

The second reason is due to the fact that industrial, agricultural and technological cooperation has not developed as it should between the two countries and, particularly, there is delay in setting up joint ventures.

#### Joint Ventures

The Hungarian government pays particular attention to the promotion of joint ventures and in recent years Hungarian enterprises have set up in the country more than 50 such ventures in cooperation with the largest industries or banks in America, Japan, West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, etc. A portion of the products of these joint ventures is consumed within Hungary, while the rest is exported either to the country participating in the venture or to third countries. Therefore, the joint venture, to the degree it is developed, can be a solid and stable base for a long-term development of trade.

Unfortunately, there is only one such venture with Greek participation--OLYMPOS, Ltd.--which produces fruit juices.

The protocol signed on 5 February following the conference of the Greek-Hungarian Mixed Commission points out that both parties agreed to promote modern ways of a more permanent cooperation such as joint production and joint ventures. Certain steps have already been taken in this sector and there exist bold plans for broader cooperation. The better known of these are the following:

Joint production of port cranes. The Elefsis Shipyards and the Hungarian firm Ganz Danubius will jointly manufacture five cranes for the Salonica Port Authority.

Hospital equipment and medical machines. Following the successful outfitting of the Greek Health Centers by the Hungarian company MEDICOR, the Mixed Commission recommends to MEDICOR and other interested companies to research and use to best advantage the possibilities of joint production of hospital equipment and medical machines as well as to train personnel in handling and maintaining the equipment.

The Mixed Commission recommends also to the Hellenic Organization of Medium- and Small-Size Enterprises and Handicrafts the Hungarian companies OKISZ and MEDICOR to exploit the possibilities of cooperation in the following sectors:

- a. Importing half-finished goods by the cooperative REDELKIS (construction of electronic apparatus, chemical electrodes, etc.) which will be finished in Greece and sold in Greece and abroad.
- b. Joint construction of surgical beds.

Railroad stock. The two sides agreed to assist in the production in Greece, with Hungarian technical support, of rail buses for sale to third countries.

The Mixed Commission recommends to the Hellenic Organization of Medium- and Small-Size Enterprises and Handicrafts and OKISZ to exploit the possibilities of cooperation in these sectors also:

1. Sending leather to Hungary where companies will make the upper part of shoes which will be sent to Greece for finishing.
2. Establishment of a common unit for producing metal parts to leather goods.

#### Fish Hatcheries

There are also other sectors (fish cultivation, animal breeding, etc.) where the margins for cooperation are large, while the Hungarians are strongly interested in participating in the construction of large projects in Greece, the Metro, for instance. It should be noted that Budapest has a marvelous subway system and from the point of view of terrain the conditions are the same in Athens as concerns the construction of colonnades.

The aforementioned cases underline the fact that if both countries show constructive initiatives, then the trade between them can see a period of growth while the development of the two economies could be significantly promoted. Moreover, the horizons will be wider if Greek enterprises join Hungarian firms in joint ventures.

At this point we must point out that we were surprised and impressed to hear I. Toldy explain the recent Hungarian law on the protection of foreign capital. There exist full guarantees that the foreign investor can export abroad in foreign exchange not only his share of profits but the capital as well. He

also has the possibility of being the major shareholder in the joint venture. Taxation of the profits is particularly low. If the investment is considered significant the profits are exempted from taxation the first 5 years and after that period the tax is 20 percent. The other investments are subject to 20 percent tax for the first 5 years and to 30 percent thereafter until it reaches 40 percent.

At the same time Hungary begins to imitate Switzerland and now accepts deposits in exchange from foreigners whose anonymity is stringently guarded.

The Hungarian model for development offers admirable know how in many sectors and our politicians should study it carefully.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER WOJCIK ON RAISING EXPORTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Andrzej Wojcik, minister of foreign trade, by Henryk Chadzynski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In our journalistic series, "Poland in the International Year of Peace," we want to concern ourselves with the general assumptions of our policy, in this case with foreign trade. Let us begin with the basic issue: In our trade and cooperation, what now is our No. 1 task?

[Answer] The same as in our entire economic strategy. Foreign trade, or rather our exchange and cooperation with countries abroad, is not, after all, an independent activity, isolated from the whole of our economy. Nor does it have any kind of separate, parochial policy. I always try to emphasize that trade exchange and economic cooperation with foreign countries is not a ministry and its subordinate apparatus. It is a sector of the national economy. It has a certain specificity, especially a greater dependence on what is going on in the world. It is closely connected to and dependent on the entire economy, but it can also exert an influence on the totality of its development. From this standpoint, the No. 1 task is to facilitate the surmounting of barriers--both internal and external--in the country's development, by increasing Poland's share in the international division of labor.

[Question] The International Year of Peace gives pause for thought. How does Poland's policy of exchange and cooperation help to build economic confidence in Europe?

[Answer] We are open to cooperation and exchange with all countries, although experience has shown that many countries attempt to use cooperation to implement specific political ideas. It was once said that exchange and cooperation paves the way for better political understanding, thus strengthening the infrastructure of peace. Despite our bitter experience stemming from the policy of sanctions against our country by certain countries in the West, we would like to continue the good traditions.

[Question] However, our economic position in the international arena is determined primarily by the state of our economy--how we repay our debts. What do our turnovers with foreign countries look like at present?

[Answer] The growth rate of turnovers of Polish foreign trade with the socialist countries is steady and is not subject to any great fluctuations. These relations constitute a stable, enduring basis for the development of the Polish economy, and current and long-range problems are solved in accordance with the common social and political goals of these countries. They are helpful in achieving mutual benefits and accelerating development. I think these matters are so obvious that they do not require extensive comment, particularly in view of the long-term contracts signed recently with the USSR and other socialist countries. Other conditions influence economic relations with the more developed capitalist countries. The growth rate of turnovers with these countries is subject to distinct fluctuations depending on the rise or decline of tensions in political relations. In recent years, after a substantial drop in turnovers during 1981-1982, the physical size of export to these markets again reached the 1979 level, the highest since the war. But import had to be one-third lower due to the necessity of obtaining large surpluses in the trade balance to service the foreign debt. Everyone in these countries who observes this process objectively must be aware of our tremendous effort and also our good will as a partner who wants to repay his debts.

It was not easy to make such progress in export. It occurred despite the poor economic conditions on the capitalist markets, the high real interest rate, the rising protectionist tendencies in the developing countries, the discriminatory treatment of our country by the United States and some other NATO countries, the application of economic sanctions and especially the blocking of credit. Naturally, under these difficult conditions on the capitalist markets, the large export effort was linked primarily to a large growth in sales of fuels and products produced by the metallurgical and food industries, and agricultural and forestry products. The reserve potential was utilized.

[Question] What, then, must be done to enliven the export of the processing industry, which, after all, is the key to our future economic expansion on the international markets?

[Answer] Again, I would like to change the emphasis in that question. I believe that the problem of activating export is not a separate one. There is, however, the large matter of reviving the economy, changing its structure so as to make effective use of available stocks of producer goods, and utilizing its export position for this purpose. We must try to increase supply, and not divide between export and domestic needs that which is now being produced. But generally speaking, this can be done by increasing production in the first place, mainly through better utilization of existing production capacity and then even more through reconstruction and modernization of potential. For the long term, a growth in export of

processed products can be expected only when there is an acceleration in the growth of the economy. But in turn, fuller utilization of economic cooperation and commercial exchange with foreign countries can be helpful in stimulating the economy.

The export effort may be the flywheel in getting the economy going. The foreign exchange obtained may help to supply the economy with essential imported goods and bring it into the mainstream of scientific and technical progress, which has recently taken on such speed in the world. But above all, exchange and cooperation with countries abroad, and especially processes connected with increased integration within the CEMA, may facilitate favorable structural changes and put us on the road to more efficient management.

[Question] Can you illustrate this with examples from practice showing the collaboration of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in increasing the export capabilities of the economy?

[Answer] The best example of this is what we have attempted to do thus far, although on a very small scale, in the field of the so-called "small restructurization." These were attempts to reconstruct the production potential by financial means, including foreign currency derived from foreign-trade funds. A very convenient system of financial preferences was established, which served as an incentive to undertake such endeavors. Important also is the fact that these are initiatives which arise from the bottom, from the producers and foreign-trade enterprises. They are aimed at eliminating the problem areas; for example, by expanding transport and warehouse facilities, by supplying engineering equipment to certain sectors, or by building new installations. In general, these are endeavors which return a profit very quickly. The financial assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in 18 such endeavors totaled approximately 7.5 billion zlotys, which made it possible to activate much larger enterprise funds, since the cost-estimate value of the investments amounted to 25 billion zlotys. Because of this, during 1986-1990 we will be able to increase exports by approximately half a billion rubles and approximately \$150 million.

I think that our past experience has been very educational, although at this time it should be regarded as quite preliminary. But the right courses of action have been selected and they must be developed as necessary. I believe that the new legal regulations will also permit us to attract foreign capital, in the form of companies, to these types of pro-export ventures.

[Question] But let us return to the general issue. In your opinion, is this very dynamic variant of the economy's development with the help of active exchange with countries abroad, possible?

[Answer] I believe that this is our main chance to accelerate development. I think that this is so because during the discussion on the final form of the 5-year program it will be possible to examine such an option for development. Of course, this involves considerable risk and the need to overcome additional difficulties in the country and on the foreign markets. But if we do not count on quick expansion of export we will not be able to break through the development barrier. We will not be able to speed up the economy relatively quickly, and thus also more quickly achieve the anticipated results.

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CSO: 2600/320

ECONOMY

POLAND

#### PAPER EXAMINES HARD COAL MINING PROSPECTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 pp. 1, 2

[Text] (PAP) A conference in "Staszic" coal mine on 28 February was devoted to a comprehensive examination and assessment of the conditions which will determine the amount of hard coal mined this year and in the next few years.

The amount of hard coal mined during 1983-1985 was greater than had been planned, despite considerable difficulties with raw and other materials. The steady work by the miners was responsible for the fact that during the very difficult years the basic needs of the economy for fuels and energy were met and that the mining industry gave impetus to greater production in other branches of industry.

Labor productivity rose during this time, while employment, even in the underground jobs, shrank. In addition, investment ventures were not fully implemented: Since 1979, no construction of a new mine has been begun. In view of the long building cycle required for construction of new mines and also the long period before ultimate mining capacity is achieved, it was said that the only way that the needs of the economy for fuels and energy can be satisfied is through efficient utilization and savings of all energy sources, particularly coal.

This year, 192 million tons of hard coal, i.e., 0.4 million tons more than last year, is to be mined. This means that the average daily output should be 2,400 tons more than last year. It will be necessary, therefore, to continue to work on Saturdays, in accordance with the Council of Minister's ordinance of a few days ago. It should be remembered that mining on Saturdays, over the period of a year, furnishes over 30 million tons of coal to the economy, i.e., almost as much as the entire export of this fuel, which is Poland's main source of foreign exchange. Other possibilities of obtaining the same amounts of coal are unrealistic, it was underscored at the conference. With the present mining equipment available it is not possible to increase daily extraction by more than 120,000 tons. There is no way, for example, of increasing employment by 50,000-60,000 in order to give the miners a 5-day week with the mines' operating on a 6-day workweek. Housing, in particular, is lacking, there is a shortage of land for building sites, furnishings for homes are lacking, and above, all there are not enough people who want to work below ground. The constant shortage of labor in the mining industry makes it

necessary to make maximum use of the labor force, and the steadily worsening mining conditions make it necessary to produce equipment which will mechanize and automate extraction under all kinds of conditions. At the same time, the natural environment must be protected. Over 100 billion zlotys have been allocated for this purpose for the years 1986-1990.

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As reported by the Ministry of Mining and Energy, 15,173 thousand tons of hard coal was mined in February of this year. During the first 2 months this year a total of 31,462 thousand tons of coal was mined. The daily average on the so-called "black days" was 635,000 tons.

Miners in the brown coal mines, despite difficult conditions caused by low temperatures, extracted 5.5 million tons in February (690,000 tons more than a year ago), and during the two months, 11.6 million tons, i.e., 1.4 million tons more than last year, was mined.

During January and February, 26.3 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy was produced, which was in accordance with the plan, but this was also 2.2 percent more than produced during the comparable period last year.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

### 1984 WAGE SYSTEM CHANGES, RESULTS REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] (PAP) As already reported, the Government Presidium at its last meeting familiarized itself with an assessment of how plant incentive systems are functioning and with the draft of an amended law on the establishment of plant wage systems.

In this law, which was passed in January 1984, the government was required to report to the Sejm on how the system functioned during the 2-year period. A Sejm commission, this week, will examine this assessment and the conclusions drawn from it. But here are the main elements of this report.

Last year, over 4,600 enterprises employing a total of 5.5 million persons, introduced these systems. This means that 56 percent of all people employed in enterprises to which this law applies are working under the new wage rules. Generally speaking, experience has shown that the assumptions of the law are correct. In accordance with economic reform, it has enabled enterprises to conduct an independent wage policy. At the same time, experience has shown shows that certain provisions of the law need to be changed.

The plant systems initiated some beneficial changes in the internal wage structure. The importance of the base pay has increased because various sliding components have been added to this base. This has made it possible to tie earnings more closely to work results. On the other hand, the share of components linked with employment alone has been reduced.

Enterprises which apply the new systems establish base pay tables independently. Theoretically, the top rates may be unlimited. However, most enterprises do not generally pay the maximum rates provided in the tables. For hourly employees, in practice, the pay rates most often are 85 to 110 zlotys per hour, and for salaried employees, 21,000 zlotys monthly.

The rules for calculating overtime pay, night differential, and hazard pay, were the subject of much dispute before the law was passed. It turned out that these changes were accepted in practice. For over 90 percent of those employed in enterprises where the new systems are in effect, these allowances are computed by a percentage ratio to the lowest wage in the socialized economy, or in a sum which is equal to or higher than the minimum guaranteed

by law (also computed in relation to the lowest wage). Only a few plants apply the traditional rule of establishing these allowance on the basis of the employee's base pay.

The method for computing seniority pay differs greatly. For 3.3 million people it is established, as a rule, based on the lowest wage. However, in the case of 1.6 million people this rule holds only when the worker was employed after the new system was introduced, and for the "old" workers the seniority pay is computed as previously: in relation to the base pay. This last rule applies uniformly in a minority of plants--those employing approximately 500,000 workers. It should be added that more and more frequently there are demands that, in order to reduce fluctuation, only seniority in that particular plant should be considered in granting entitlement to seniority pay.

However, the rule for computing anniversary and retirement awards according to the lowest wage has been universally accepted.

Workplaces are observing the legal prohibition against introducing new, and expanding the range of old, allowances in kind (coal, etc.) or the money equivalents of these allowances. In the case of 1.2 million workers, the equivalents paid thus far have been incorporated in the other wage components.

In plants which apply the new systems, the piece-work form of pay predominates. Gradually, although not very rapidly, group forms of work organization are being adopted, for example, a wage account within a particular work gang.

Changes have also occurred in the bonus system. More understandable, often more stringent criteria and conditions for awarded bonuses have been applied. In most enterprises the amounts of these bonuses fluctuates within 10 to 20 percent of the base pay for hourly workers, and 25 to 30 percent for salaried workers.

So much, in general, for changes in the wage structure brought about by the plant systems. But what, specifically, have they given the economy? How much influence have they had on the operating efficiency of the enterprises?

All studies confirm that plants which apply their own wage systems generally show better results and economic ratios than those in which the traditional rules of payment are in effect. True, these differences are not spectacular, but it must be borne in mind that the new rules have not been effect very long, and furthermore, they cannot be the only cure for all of the ailments caused by external factors.

In the industrial enterprises examined in which these systems were being applied the level of employment during the third quarter of last year fell by 25,700, while in the remaining enterprises it dropped by only 7,900. It is true that in the building-assembly enterprises there was a small growth in employment, but it pertained largely to hourly, blue-collar workers. These are only the beginnings of changes in the structure of employment aimed at improving it. In order to hasten this process, it is proposed that the application of the plant wage system be tied to the duty of making a detailed

review of jobs from the standpoint of job organization, indispensable technical changes, and health, safety and welfare requirements.

However, expectations that worktime will be better utilized were not fulfilled. In plants in which wages are paid according to the new rules, it was possible only to slightly reduce overtime hours.

One condition for applying plant wage agreements is verification of work norms. Some progress was achieved: In the middle of last year, average fulfillment of norms in plants which had their own system was 124.8 percent, while in the remaining ones it was 148 percent. In part, therefore, the norms were made more realistic. But some plants verified their norms in such a way that they would suffer no loss, irrespective of technical and organizational conditions. That is why it is now proposed that these plants begin work on an honest verification of norms, using analytical methods, and making the possibility of applying their own wage system in the future dependent upon such a verification.

wage system.

Plant wage systems have a good influence on overall economic ratios. In enterprises in which they have been applied, a somewhat faster rate of growth of labor productivity has been recorded, which has been paid by a lower growth of average wages than in the remaining plants. The increase in sold production in current prices per one employee was 49.6 percent higher in industrial enterprises where the new systems were in effect, with an average wage growth of 4.5 percent.

Financial results are also better. During 3 quarters last year profits in enterprises which have their own wage systems rose, while in the others, profits dropped. The bottom-line figure, in terms of one employee, was 66.8 percent higher.

Only those enterprises should put in their own wage systems who can afford it. Until now, it is believed, there were no mechanisms which could link some wages and salaries with the enterprise's economic condition. It is suggested, therefore, that plants be required to show the sources from which a possible growth in wages is covered, but covered in such a way as not to cause an above-norm growth of wages to be taxed.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

#### LEADING ECONOMIST OUTLINES REFORM SHORTCOMINGS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9-10 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Waclaw Wilczynski: "The Reform and Its Determinants"]

[Text] Prof Waclaw Wilczynski, the author of this article, is director of the Institute of Political Economy of the Academy of Economics in Poznan, vice president of the executive board of the Polish Economic Society, a member of the Economic Advisory Council. The text was prepared for the Economic Society's meeting in Katowice.

It is addressed to economists, and it takes only economic factors into consideration. It does not, however, consider the social and political implications of the otherwise accurate economic measures of the reform.

Nevertheless, we believe our readers will be interested in Prof Wilczynski's position.

Not counting less ambitious efforts, the Polish economy is presently undergoing its third major attempt at reform, i.e., to adapt it to current conditions. The first two attempts in 1957-60 and 1971-73 ended in failure. In both cases the opponents succeeded in watering down and softening the basic principles.

The first attempt ended when the Economic Council could not prevail and the workers self-governments were liquidated. The second attempt was first restricted to prevent it from threatening the large economic organizations and then abandoned when these organizations were judged to be one of the chief villains in the worsening situation. Thus, a system that neither guarantees proper allocation of resources, nor rational exploitation of plant, nor integrates workers, nor stimulates innovation, nor promotes economic equilibrium, nor maximizes utility per unit cost, nor assures proper, rapid reaction to economic changes has survived intact.

Will the third attempt succeed? The present attempt certainly has a greater chance to succeed than the previous ones. It is patronized by the highest political levels, and there are a number of statutes behind it. Nevertheless, concern for its fate is warranted.

The opponents of the reform come from among those whose material interests in the continuation of the previous system it threatens, from among the varied dogmatists, and from among those intellectually incapable of adapting to the changes the reform entails. The fight against the reform is accompanied by dogmatic use of socialist slogans, supposedly incompatible with the reform. Other warning signs have appeared, too.

If during the first half of 1982 the branch ministries restricted their activities in accord with the reform, after the middle of 1982 their activities quickly reexpanded, limiting the enterprises' rights. Attempts to limit the reform to restructuring the central control mechanisms and to exclude the higher level economic administration from its purview have occurred. The central administrators have also begun to adopt a supercilious attitude toward the reform, as happened during the previous attempts at reform. Pressure to continue so-called temporary measures and to adapt the reform in particular sectors of the economy evidence this attitude. We should note that the non-parametric temporary measures derive from a connection that administrative methods are better than system alterations. This conviction is fatal to reform.

The central administration has also been more liberal on wage policy than consistent in implementing economic measures based on the new system. There is, as a result, a visible contradiction between the formal legal foundations of economic relations and the malfunctioning mechanisms based on them. A closer review of the reform at the end of 1984 indicates insufficient progress or controversial measures in almost every essential sector. For example, there have been changes strengthening the statutory position of the founding organs, but the enterprises still have no legal defense against outside intervention inconsistent with the system.

There have been no significant changes in the institutional structure, especially the central administration. It must be noted that the so-called branch ministries are a major hurdle hampering the restructuring of the economy, which requires one decision center and cannot be reconciled with branch lobbies. The decision system and the structure of economic competencies have not been reorganized; instead the temporary measures, incorporating the superordination of a number of institutions foreign to the system and weakening the functioning of the system mechanisms, have been retained. A blatant symptom of this is the maintenance of a subjective rather than an objective distribution system, causing misallocation of resources.

The principle of hard financing and contributing to the economy is applied inconsistently and selectively. It has not touched wages, and enterprises' funds have at times been taken away while high subsidies were maintained. Prices and market relations have also not been managed satisfactorily. There has been no success, even conceptually, in establishing a price policy. Equilibrium prices have not gained the upper hand in most market sectors, and the contradiction between the essence of parametric prices and the methods adopted for establishing regulated prices have also remained unresolved. Wages are insufficiently related to enterprises' productivity, and there has

even been a return at times to discredited measures of production for controlling wage increases.

A classic example of the misunderstanding of this type is regarding net production as a net measure, as if this adjective assured every noun identical content. The complicated problem of properly stimulating and taxing profits and income has also not been solved. Although the country needs large surpluses, profit still has a bad name, and taxes, as a result of the adoption of the costs of processing to measure profitability, affect enterprises very unequally, not to mention the tendency to increase these costs.

In light of these observations, we should ask how much has the reform or can the reform overcome the faults of the previous system. No breakthrough has occurred. Despite sporadic positive decisions or daring reactions, we are far from improving allocation of resources, using them effectively, making innovations, improving quality, reducing costs, and speeding up decisions.

The system in 1985 remains internally incoherent and inefficient. It has not broken through to efficiency, to mechanisms that force rational action and behavior. There is also no equilibrium-producing mechanism. Institutional structures, inconsistent with the new system, have gained strength and predominate over the functional needs of the economy. The middle-level administration has revived, weakening the enterprises' independence and strengthening monopolistic tendencies.

In many places the climate does not favor a surplus of results over costs. The source of profits remains increasing costs and not lowering them. Turnover taxes have returned to favor as the major method for financing the state budget. Wages remain largely unrelated to enterprises' economic results.

We cannot, however, assign all the birth pangs of the new economic system to its foes' ill-will and ignorance. We must search out its faults. They not only facilitate attacks on it but reduce its power to overcome opposition, make it more difficult to promote or implement the new system, and decrease resistance to changes inconsistent with the reform.

The reform mainly lacks an all-encompassing methodology or set of criteria. If initially the premises and directions of the new economic system sufficed and if the documents produced by the groups of the Economic Reform Commission were useful, at present a technical model simulating the final version of the system, a mock version of the institutions, is badly needed. The failure to produce or publish such a model is seriously hampering our ability to resist centrifugal forces that are tearing apart the system and which frequently masquerade under the name of the reform.

This shortcoming is largely responsible for limiting the economic reform to a superficial modification of the control mechanisms. The lack of a "technical model" hampers evaluation and, when necessary, rejection of bad measures and is preventing us from taking a clear position on the so-called temporary measures.

The lack of a sufficiently synthetic, normative document describing the essence and functioning of the new economic system causes its imponderables, goals, criteria, its adequateness to lose clarity, to fall short of their appropriate importance. The structure of the system, its elements have disappeared from view. Object, sector, branch, and ministry-level cross-sections predominate over systemic views.

We must recall that the genuine goals of the reform are: 1) to restore microeconomic rationality; 2) to restore the proper role of central planning, which was mutated into centralized management; and 3) to unify the workers around a rational economy, among other ways, through worker self-governments and by socializing the planning process.

We must also recall that the major, unassailable criteria of economic health are: 1) the ability to allocate resources rationally; 2) the ability to use existing human and material resources; 3) the ability to innovate; 4) the ability to stabilize the economy; 5) the ability to produce higher quality and lower costs; and 6) the ability to shorten reaction times to economic trends and the time required to make a decision.

Finally, we must recall that the systemic measures must be separated into a logical sequence of the representative elements. The appropriate criteria for classifying the elements are: 1) the statutory and legal basis of the system; 2) the institutional and unit structure of the national economy; 3) the structure of the decision competencies and the method of decisionmaking; 4) the system for supporting and financing the economy; 5) the price system and market relations; 6) the wage system and distribution relations; and 7) the economic results, the system of evaluation, and taxation.

Adherence to these criteria and classifications is not optional. The present reform is not optional, a mere low desire. Whether we become sufficiently up to date or not depends on it succeeding. To be or not to be is the question. The reform must be strengthened, particularly its qualitative aspects. The general conception and the detailed construction of the new economic system must take on a shape that prevents us from taking it lightly, indulging in free interpretation, and breaking its rules without fear.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

## ECONOMIC SOCIETY CONFERENCE STRESSES REFORM, ECONOMISTS' ROLE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Nov 85 p 2

### [Excerpts]. Discussion

The discussion touched on Polish economists' most critical problems, especially improving the economy and implementing the reform with greater consistency.

For example, Jacek Wojciechowski spoke, among other things, about the need to increase economists' involvement and how the poor knowledge many of them have of economics leads them to resist the reform. These economists explain some of the failure with technical and production problems, banks' resistance, etc.

Cezary Jozefiak emphasized the need to implement more rapidly the reform which was designed comprehensively but which has been unevenly implemented. Leszek Kalkowski presented the congress with figures illustrating the situation of the more than 100,000 economists with a higher education and the 513,000 technicians. The group is civicly and politically active: approximately 30 percent of the economists with a higher education is active in a political party.

The speakers emphasized the need to increase the economists' prestige, especially by performing their jobs well and openly presenting and defending their own opinions.

Prof Jan Kaczmarek, president of the Chief Technical Organization, stated that economists and engineers must work together. Concern for their usefulness to society should prompt both groups to make this effort.

The discussion led to the development of the program for the Polish Economic Society for the current period and the final documents of the congress that outline the major tasks in implementing the society's goals and expanding its activities: developing economic education, directing work toward implementing the reform, research, and defining directions of and needs for change in the economy.

The congress also called for organizing a Congress of Economists in 1987 on the 100th anniversary of the Polish Economic Society.

### Election of Officers

The congress also accepted the outgoing officers' final reports and accounts and elected new officers. Zdzislaw Sadowski was elected president of the Executive Board of the society, and Prof Jozef Pestka was elected chairman of the Central Council. Tadeusz Luczycki was elected chairman of the Qualifications Commission, and Aleksander Okuniewski, chairman of the Chief Arbitration Board. The society's new president, Zdzislaw Sadowski, was interviewed by PAP.

"At present we need economic thought badly. There is a major need to solve the Polish economy's difficult problems: establishing prices, wages, investment, exports, etc., and to continue the transformation of the economy and the reform. There are no simple solutions to these problems. We have inherited a sick organism whose condition is improving but which is far from healthy. In order to solve these problems, we economists need a strong civic and professional organization.

"During my term in office," Sadowski said, "we will develop cooperation between engineers and economists. We must also enrich our methods of action. Premier Zbigniew Messner told us that as an economist he feels responsible to his fellow professionals and in turn expects us to help. The society must evaluate and analyze the economy and the reform. This is not a new task, but we must develop new, institutionalized forms of action in this area."

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ECONOMY

POLAND

BOBROWSKI ADDRESSES ECONOMISTS ON REFORM, MARKET EQUILIBRIUM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Czeslaw Bobrowski: "Economists Face the Challenge of the Eighties"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] A Realistic Evaluation

And finally, the hopes connected with the reform. Probably no one would accuse me of coldness toward the reform. I encountered the issue of the system at the turn of 1947-48 when we abandoned building our own system of planning and management based on Soviet experiences but without copying. But being a supporter of reform does not relieve one of the responsibility of evaluating its implementation rate and results. In 1980, I wrote that given favorable conditions full results could be achieved in fewer than three years and given unfavorable ones, in more than three years. Three years have passed and conditions are still unfavorable.

At ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE we had a discussion with Prof Pajestka, among others, that the editors humorously titled "Is the Reform Good for Everything?" Now we know the issues are complex, and we are aware that there is no agreement as to the causes of the slowness of the implementation nor as to the sources of its lengthiness. I am one of those who attaches greater significance to objective conditions than to the resistance of pressure groups. I am not criticizing the intentions of the so-called fundamentalists; I am even glad they exist. But I believe some prescriptions suggested for accelerating the reform are illusions. Thus, pressure to decrease the number of ministries is unessential, for it seems to me that it is not really a question of areas of competence but of effectiveness. Accenting the issue of decreasing the number of easy chairs, when we need to change the players' music can distract us from the real problem.

/Economists, especially the Polish Economic Society, at the beginning of the reform played a role of which we can be proud. Something most unusual happened: a burst of proposed reforms./ They were not all as equally well conceived as the version, or rather successive versions, of the society, but there were many of them and as Prof Kramerowa has shown, they had many common features. These proposals formed the basis of the proposal developed by Prof Baka's group, in which theoretical economists constituted a majority.

This proposal was presented to and accepted by the Ninth Party Congress. Then the second phase began. Now the previous consensus no longer exists. It is no longer an issue of criticizing the command system, which was the starting point for the common opinions and directions of action. Now the problems are practical decisions concerning implementation. Here the economists hold different opinions. Some of them are extreme, but they are needed to counterbalance the so-called pragmatists who sometimes see the trees but not the forest.

#### A Critical Distance

The role of the economists at the middle and upper administrative levels had to increase during implementation. They have to translate the general conceptions into practical or legal language. But the role of theoretical economists and those working in enterprises, trade unions, or self-governments is to prevent, as it is said in Italian, the traduttore (translators) from becoming traditore (traitors) to the text they are translating. I believe that a loosely organized structure that does not cramp either individuals or small groups is appropriate for the voicing of criticisms. This structure will promote imagination and critical distance more than structures connected with the administration would.

I do not regard judgments of the success or failure of the reform as appropriate. An old saying declares that success has many fathers. Judging by the number of supporters, I would say the reform is already a success. There are probably few fathers, rather there are a number of step-fathers and legal guardians by accident. /This situation only increases the role of measured criticism that returns our attention to the further horizon, to the final version of the system./ I also believe it is worth discussing the critical issue of the relationship between central planning and the enterprises' independence. I think this issue is unclearly formulated in the "Directions of Reform" and in the statutes. I doubt that the slogan, which I saw recently, that we reject both the traditional as well as the anarchic free-market system suffices as a theoretical formulation. We must theoretically and operationally define the desired mixture of central planning and market but in a synthetic manner.

Finally, there are a series of issues in economic policy concerning extra-system problems. Not all of them were noted in time. Criticism should begin with self-criticism. For example, although the Economic Reform Commission and I personally were among the first to draw attention to the decapitalization of our fixed investments, we should have done so earlier. We underestimated its scale. I have no qualms regarding the contradiction between the priority for quickly completed, lighter investments (those carried out by enterprises) and the priority for massive, continuing investments. As regards promoting exports, neither the administration nor the economists outside of it have suggested anything other than stopgap measures.

The last exemplary problem, which I regard as important, even crucial since it affects many other things, is equilibrium between money and goods. The 3-year plan assumed it would be achieved in 1985, which the commission publicly

doubted; and as is known, it was not achieved. Worse during the current year there has been no improvement.

### A Flood of Goals

We have and should have established many goals, risking a flood of them. Clearly, there must be priorities, even if in the long run others may turn out to be more salient. There is no easy method for formulating selection criteria; however, we can, I believe, regard as most important those tasks that affect the successful completion of others. For this reason, /I regard equilibrium between money and goods to be especially urgent. Without any improvement in the market equilibrium, we cannot restore confidence in the zloty. Without this, we cannot deal with the value of motivational pay, reduce pathological symptoms that administrative measures against speculation cannot eliminate, remove distortions in the distribution of the national income, and finally revive the work ethic./

This is all the more urgent, because, of all the goals in the 3-year plan we have made the least progress toward this one. Given the number of contributing factors, we can say that all of us are guilty of maintaining the disequilibrium. I believe if at the beginning of 1982 we had raised prices by 10 percent and provided slightly less monetary compensation, we would be significantly closer to our goal today.

Obviously, delays in making decisions affecting equilibrium such as raising the turnover tax on goods of a further order and the inadequate effectiveness of measures to retard wage increases also played a role. I do understand how difficult the problem was. It was made more difficult by a belief in the effects of increased production and the public's understandable dislike of price increases. Because we have achieved such partial results in restoring equilibrium the relevant measures become even more urgent.

/After making significant progress in this area, the allocative function of prices can be restored; administrative distribution can be limited; economic decisionmaking in enterprises strengthened; and in particular the role of profit in the "Directions" can be reactivated. If economic restructuring is to result from enterprise initiative as well as government programs, then equilibrium in this area and the chain of consequences following from it can produce visible results./

I hope between now and the society's next congress (which I may not live to see or at least at which I will not deliver a speech) that restoring equilibrium will lose the priority I have stated it has now.

(From Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski's speech at the Congress of the Polish Economic Society in Katowice, 9-10 November 1985. The subtitles were added by the editors.)

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ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

TURBOGENERATOR FOR NUCLEAR POWER PLANT--The major stage of construction has begun at the 'Dolmel' Lower Silesian electrical machinery plant in Wroclaw of the largest turbogenerator ever made there. This is a powerful 500 MW machine weighing 490 tons and intended for use at the country's first nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec. On 1 April the crew at plant W-2 began production of the primary sub-assemblies for the stator and rotor of this turbogenerator. In conjunction with the construction of the unit, a boring-milling machine was purchased from the FRG, making it possible to treat elements up to 14 meters in length. The foundations on which the machine will be placed are being completed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 April 86 p 1] /8918

SCI-TECH AGREEMENT WITH YUGOSLAVIA--Talks were held in Warsaw on 10-14 March by the mixed commission for Polish-Yugoslav sci-tech cooperation. The commission reviewed the status of cooperative plans fulfilled in 1981-85 and discussed proposed contacts for the present 5-year period. They also discussed the possibility of expanding such contacts. On 14 March a plan for sci-tech cooperation in the years 1986-90 was signed. It comprises a total of nearly 300 subjects in 22 areas including mining, energy, the machine industry, metallurgy, chemistry, construction, maritime economy, transportation, agriculture, the food industry, forestry and health. Special emphasis was placed on the necessity of achieving concrete results in future cooperation which it would be possible to directly implement in the economies of the two countries, and also on completing priority tasks for scientific development and technical progress. [Text]. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Mar 86, p 2] /8918

MARITIME AGREEMENT WITH SRI LANKA--An intergovernmental agreement between PRL and Sri Lanka has been signed dealing with cooperation in maritime transport. The agreement was signed by Ryszard Pospieszynski, first deputy minister director of the Office of Maritime Economy and Ahindra Wijeratne, vice minister of Trade and Shipping. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 86 p 2] /8918

MEDICINES FOR FRANCE--Two agreements in the area of industry and foreign trade were signed with enterprises of the Rhone-Poulenc group involving the production of medicines in Poland. The agreements were signed during a visit to France by Marian Skowerski, vice minister of Chemical Industry and Light Machinery. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 86 p 7] /8918

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CAMBODIA--A trade delegation led by Janusz Balewski, vice minister of Foreign Trade, visited Cambodia. An agreement on trade between Poland and Cambodia for 1986-90 was signed. Vice minister J. Balewski signed the agreement on behalf of the Polish delegation, and the signer for Cambodia was Phang Sareth, vice minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade. Vice minister Balewski met with Hun Sen, Politburo member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Mar 86 p 7] /8918

COMMITTEE FOR TRADE WITH USSR--(PAP) The inaugural meeting of the Committee for Economic Cooperation with the USSR in the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade was held on 10 March. The Committee will take measures to expand and enhance direct cooperation between production plants in Poland and the USSR. Andrzej Kajka, managing director of the M. Nowotki Machinery Plants, was elected chairman of the Committee. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 85 p 2] 9295

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21 April 1986

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## FDJ GAS PIPELINE BUILDERS IN PERM SECTOR RENEW LABOR PLEDGES

AU181227 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Mar 86 p 2

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)--The builders of the "Natural Gas Pipeline" Central Youth Project in the Perm construction site south of Moscow as well as in the Ukraine have over the weekend reaffirmed their pledges on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the FDJ to daily accomplish high performances in the Ernst Thaelmann drive. They reported on the past fulfillment of their competition initiative "With the best pipeline construction balance to the 11th SED Congress" at meetings with party veterans, former line builders and Komsomol members. Many young construction workers received FDJ awards and awards of the Leninist Komsomol.

Aleksey Konovalov, secretary of the Perm Oblast Komsomol Committee, thanked the young CDR experts for the work performed in this sector of the Soviet transcontinental long distance gas pipeline in the past 1 and 1/2 years. This work helps to strengthen the friendship between GDR and USSR youth, he said.

High performance shifts were worked at all six sites in the Perm region--in Chaykovskiy, Sosnovo, Karamorka, Barda, Beryezovka, and Gornozavodskaya on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the FDJ.

GDR pipeline builders in the Ukrainian line sector at the Stryy gas collection point number 1 also drew up a provisional balance sheet at a meeting. Party secretary Wolfgang Suchý spoke about the fine results achieved in the Ernst Thaelmann drive; 23-young workers applied for admission to the SED as candidate members. The target of the construction workers in this sector is to complete work on the gas collection point number 1 by the 11th SED Congress to such an extent that the main pressure test may be started.

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

GREEK PAPER REPORTS ON 'SIGURIMI' ACTIVITIES IN GREECE

Athens I VRADYNI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 16 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by P. Kasimatis: "Albanian Agents' Activities in Athens"]

[Text] The dark Citroen abruptly brakes in front of the stranger strolling by the Kakavia guardhouse. The driver speaks broken Greek and is careful to convey his instructions quickly... A Fiat and a small closed van--which also bore standard license plate numbers--were spotted later in Delvinaki, close to the Greek-Albanian border. The cars' passengers were higher ranking members of the Albanian embassy diplomatic staff who were meeting trusted men in deserted places to instruct them on sabotaging a demonstration by northern Epirotes.

It was dusk, on 13 February. A few days ago...

The KYP's [Central Intelligence Service] border officials had been informed. Local authorities, which discreetly avoided interfering, had also been alerted.

The "Three Days Of Mourning" for northern Epirus proclaimed by Metropolitan Bishop Sevastianos did finally get organized despite the difficulties but, on the other hand, the men of the "Sigurimi"--the Tirana secret service--rubbed their hands with satisfaction because they had singled out many people.

Albanian agents are scouring Greece, they organize spy networks and collect information about the nation.

Structure

Today the "V.T.K" [VRADYNI TIS KYRIAKIS] discloses for the first time the structure of the Tirana Secret Intelligence Service and the activities of the "Sigurimi."

The building which houses the services of the "Sigurimi" is at the end of Iskender Bey street, right by the "Lenin" Hotel in Tirana. It consists of the following sections:

.The Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which assigns, suspends

and transfers members of the diplomatic staff in embassies abroad.

.The Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Education.

.The Directorate of Communications. This service is in charge of listening in on telephone calls and controlling telegrams and mail. The censorship committee also holds its meetings in this service.

.The Directorate of Transportation.

.The Directorate of border forces.

.The Directorate of Security which is in direct contact with the Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Education.

.The service in charge of analyzing information and

.The "Sigurimi" central directorate which is under the direct jurisdiction of Albania's present secretary general, Ramiz Alia.

According to accurate information, the Ministry of the Interior and the "Sigurimi" which has very extensive powers are responsible for Albania's internal security. A relevant document mentions: "All information regarding the security of the regime and every contact in the nation with foreigners or individuals of another ethnic background or nationality ends there."

Welcome committees in Albania's border posts, escorts who meet Greek groups in Albania, hotel employees, waiters, drivers of means of transportation are 'Sigurimi' agents."

Harila Kola, the first secretary of the Albanian embassy who was arrested in Ioannina and expelled, recently played a paramount role in Greece.

It was on Christmas eve that Kola parked his dark grey Mercedes close to the house he had rented in Ioannina. Two men he had met twice previously were waiting for him there. One of them was a contact. The other one was a "northern Epirote" who was to give interesting information. The raid of the men of the 2nd counterintelligence section of the KYP took the first secretary of the Albanian embassy by surprise and they collected from the table all they could find:

.A pad with names and information on how many are favorably inclined toward the regime.

.Notes that filled a whole notebook.

.A list of classified military information.

The "northern Epirote," as was disclosed later, was a KYP agent who had infiltrated Kola's organization in Northern Greece.

Harila Kola, together with the Albanian consul Nikola Ziou, both of them eminent members of the "Sigurimi," had created the networks of Thessaloniki, Igoumenitsa and Ioannina. They failed to establish organizations in Larissa and Agrinion, while in Athens they made appointments in offices on Patission, Panepistimiou and Akadimias streets. Formerly, Kola's position was held by Justin Papageorgi who left the country when the "Sigurimi" realized that he had become known to the counterintelligence section of the KYP. Papageorgi travelled often to Ioannina and Corfu and had generated suspicion. As soon as he left, he was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tirana, to the Directorate of Political Affairs for Greece.

Ropi Kita, a member of the embassy and of the "Sigurimi," was expelled in 1983. He had organized the most extensive network of agents in Attica, particularly in Aspropyrgos and Markopoulo.

According to information, Albanians have their eye on the wealth of northern Epirotes in Greece and are attempting to create an "Albanian minority" in the nation by making those who speak Albanian appear as "Albanian." They also claim Greek territories as Albanian, providing Greek libraries, through a well-known professor, with books and magazines!

12278  
CSO: 3521/113

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR'S HONECKER ADDRESSES YOUTH RALLY IN BERLIN

OW071706 East Berlin Television Service in German 1535 GMT 7 Mar 86

[Speech by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker at the festive function at Friedrichstadt Palace in East Berlin marking the 40th anniversary of the FDJ--live--no video available]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, it is with great joy that I convey to you the most fraternal fighting greetings of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and the Council of Ministers on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the FDJ. [applause]

The FDK observes its 40th birthday at a time when the strengthening of socialism on German soil will be given new, vigorous impulses through the 11th SED Party Congress. The GDR youth is prepared for the requirements of the present and the future with a high level of knowledge, skill, and revolutionary energy. The Socialist Youth Organization under the leadership of our party has for decades achieved a great deal to this end. In all storms of time it proved its worth as a loyal helper and reliable fighting reserve of the SED. [applause] Its members are standing in the first ranks of the fighters for peace and socialism. We communists, who have been fighting against war and reaction and for a world of peace and for the happiness of the people since our youth, are watching full of pride and satisfaction how our hopes of the past come true in a constantly new manner with every posterity. Today it is already the grandchildren of the first FDJ generation who are wearing the blue shirt with the emblem of the rising sun.

In the film on Ernst Thaelmann, which indeed has deeply moved all of us, the youth is particularly touched also by the attitude of the young communist. Today we discover again millionfold in the GDR youth their political steadfastness, their pride in their communist ideals. [applause]

The future for which the young communist of that time fought, the unity of the working class for which Ernst Thaelmann and his comrades struggled so persistently and selflessly, the state of freedom and of human dignity of which we dreamed--all this came true in our German worker-peasant state of the GDR. [applause]

In March 1946 I wrote in an article for EINHEIT that the longing for socialism is dormant in the youth, this longing is reality today. We can state with joy that the youth has performed great deeds for the emergence and growth of the GDR, not only in the construction of the Sosa river dam and during the construction of Schwedt, not only in the Wische and during the building of the Rostock port; the youth has been standing its ground everywhere. Thus, the youth organization with its work for the well-being of our people, with its loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, earned the proud name of Thaelman's young guard and also keeps this name in veneration through its struggle.

[applause]

When we founded the FDL 40 years ago, it was for the first time in the history of the German youth movement that a uniform and democratic youth organization had been created interests. This, dear friends and comrades, was a historical change which once and for all did away with the political disunity of the youth on our soil. It is, after all, part of the everlasting merits of the FDJ that it liberated the youth of the postwar years from the poison of the hatred among peoples, side by side with the antifascists and all progressive forces, and mobilized millions girls and boys for the ideas of friendship among peoples and the building of a new society.

Today our socialist youth organization is considered on all continents as an example of the action of the young generation which is determined by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The democratic world youth truly has in the FDJ an ever reliable fellow fighter for peace, friendship among peoples, and anti-imperialist solidarity. From the unity of the youth emerged, under the leadership of the party of the worker class, a revolutionary enthusiasm and a society-transforming force such as never existed at any times before in German history. It was in keeping with the spirit of these years of construction that this new verse was added to one of our traditional worker youth songs at the time: We are the first rank, we advance audaciously, the fire of our hearts cannot be extinguished by any storm; we work for peace, this is to us the greatest glory, and our supreme honor is the herois of work. [applause]

And it was appropriate, dear friends, that this verse was added to this famous song. To this testifies the GDR of today. And what will it be like tomorrow if we keep fighting along these lines! We are very much convinced that you will keep fighting along these lines. [applause] This herois of the youth in work and its readiness to protect the fruit of the common diligence, characterizes the course of our FDJ up to this day. It is the heroism of millions and millions who helped build a state commensurate with their hopes, a state which combined its hopes with the youth's determination of upbuilding and revolutionary unrest. It is the zeal of young people who trust in the policy of our party and in whom we have full confidence. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, we see the performance of girls and boys who assume and fulfill responsibilities. Thus the GDR has also grown and developed as a state of the young people. When 40 years ago in the spring the FDJ originated from the antifascist youth committees and when in April the KPD and SPD united to become the SED, our country with its capital of Berlin was in ruins. Remembering that and viewing our republic and our socialist Berlin today, we look

at the work of all our people who at the time had hopes but never dreamed they would achieve what they have attained.

Today our GDR is a politically stable state which is backed by its citizens' confidence in the SED's policy and all social forces united in the national front. Every year we reach high economic growth rates as are achieved by only few countries. The people's material and cultural living standard is ensured and is continuously extended. For hundreds of thousands of citizens the housing conditions improve every year. However, our country has not only risen from the ruins. Our worker-peasant state has become the guarantor of a policy which does everything in its power to prevent (?the outbreak of) another war. In the center of Europe on the sensitive dividing line of the two world systems, our socialist state is a secure corner stone for peace and socialism. The young generation's commitment to peace also guarantees that the GDR continues to meet that historic responsibility. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, yesterday the 27th CPSU Congress ended in Moscow successfully. We have almost immediately come from the great Kremlin palace in time to take part in the FDJ festive ceremony. [applause] Dear friends, that is a coincidence. However, we still see an inner, symbolic connection. In Moscow the Soviet communists made decisions which reach far into the future. It was a party congress where the perspective designed by the USSR--the liberation of mankind from nuclear weapons--was confirmed and enriched by new impulse. That enhances the young generation's hopes for a future of peaceful horizons.

I may rightly say here that the GDR fully supports the course of the most powerful bastion of peace on our globe. Lenin's country will always have a reliable companion in our party and in all the GDR people. [applause] This spirit also characterized my meeting with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, our friend and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, during the 27th CPSU Congress.

When I visit the Soviet Union, I always remember the first FDL delegation's peace flight to the East in the summer of 1947. After our return we wrote at the time that the Soviet people love peace, and they work and fight for it. In doing that, they rely on their own strength and all peoples' desire for peace.

Our SED Central Committee delegation has now returned from the 27th CPSU Congress with the same impressions. That underlines the fact that the Soviet communists' peace course is reliable and is an expression of the Soviet people's great desire for peace. [applause]

Our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union has proved to be an alliance for the future. With the program of cooperation in science, technology, and production between the GDR and the USSR to the year 2000 and with our firm brotherhood in arms, we jointly work for the strengthening of socialism and the ensuring of peace. These common interests are also (?confirmed) time and again by the traditional meetings between the FDJ and the Leninist Komsomol.

In our capital of Berlin the 11th SED Congress will soon discuss the future tasks regarding the further shaping of the evolved socialist society. In the people's discussion and in the people's movement in preparation for the congress, the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization have attained great achievements in the Ernst Thaelmann drive of the FDJ and in the pioneer expedition red flag.

Whether in the almost 45,000 youth brigades, the more than 4,000 youth research collectives, the fair of the masters of tomorrow, animal production, learning in studies, defense of the homeland, in the fields of culture and sports, at the construction sites of the Berlin FDJ initiative or the FDJ friendship brigades on various continents, one can say that the FDJ members stand their test everywhere as steadfast builders and defenders of socialism and progress.  
[applause]

Of truly strategic significance is the fact that the youth is active today everywhere where the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution must be linked with the advantages of the socialist society. Thus we open up for us so far unknown labor productivity increase rates, creating the prerequisites for continuing on our tested course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policies. Today the development and application of key technology is the decisive barricade of our socialist revolution. We are particularly happy that the youth research collectives can be already termed the vanguard of a firm link between economy, science and production. They do a great job. We are certain that the FDJ generation of the eighties will stand its ground as well as the earlier generation at the former focal points of our economic development. [applause]

Dear friends, you are thus making a basic contribution to the implementation of our party program to the benefit of our people, the strengthening of socialism, and the preservation of peace. You make the communist approach to life more impressive, turning it into the entire young generation's approach to life. You hold the banner of the revolutionary achievements of the GDR strongly in your hands and you prepare yourself to carry it into the coming millennium.

Dear friends and comrades, the SED Central Committee has decided to award the FDJ on the occasion of the 40th anniversary in recognition of the great achievements in preparations for the 11th Party Congress the Karl Marx Order and a banner of honor of our party Central Committee. [long applause]

Dear friends and comrades, I congratulate you most cordially on this occasion. May this banner lead you in mastering the revolutionary tasks on our way to the communist future. Long live our FDJ, long live the fighting alliance between the SED and the FDJ, forward young friends to the 11th SED Congress!  
[long applause]

/8918  
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POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BERLIN DEVELOPMENT STATISTICS SKETCHED

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 18 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by staff reporters Claus-Michael Bartsch and Karin Wendt: "Most Successful Stage in Berlin's 750 Year History"]

[Text] At yesterday's 20th Plenum of the city assembly in Red City Hall, Erhard Krack described the legislative term soon to be concluded as the most successful stage in Berlin's almost 750 year history. The lord mayor made this remark at the beginning of his speech presenting the Magistrat's report on the work done. During this last meeting of the supreme Berlin people's representation before the 8 June election, the deputies also received a report by Dr Heinrich Hugot, director of Berlin City Court, on the court's accomplishment of its assignments.

The city deputies extended a warm welcome to Construction Minister Wolfgang Junker. They discussed future tasks and adopted several resolutions, among others the establishment of the Berlin-Hellersdorf city district in June next. This will include the sectors Hellersdorf, Kaulsdorf and Mahlsdorf, hitherto parts of Marzahn city district. The new city district borders on the city in the north and east, on Koepenick city district in the south and the eastern bank of the Wuhle River in the west. The deputies confirmed the budget report for 1985 and decided that the city district assemblies of Hellersdorf and the already established Hohenschoenhausen city district should be elected at the time of the popular elections.

The city deputies further decided to remove Alfred Koehler from membership of the Greater Berlin Magistrat and his office as city councillor for transportation and communications, due to his appointment as chairman of the Berlin Chamber of Trade. They thanked him for his years of effort in this important sector of municipal affairs. At the same time, Guenther Manow was elected a member of the Greater Berlin Magistrat and city councillor for transportation and communications.

Several deputies spoke in the course of the extensive discussion, including Union friend and public health officer Dr Roland Jacob, chairman of the permanent health and social affairs committee as well as chief of medicine at the first medical sector of the Busch Hospital Center.

In his report, Erhard Krack said: "In 1983, on behalf of the city assembly, the Greater Berlin Magistrat appealed to lord mayors in more than 50 countries on 4 continents, asking them together with their parliaments to champion concrete disarmament and oppose the nuclear threat. Forty capitals in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and Latin America responded to this initiative. The lord mayors of 31 capitals expressed their complete agreement with the appeal. At present we are entertaining close partnership relations with 39 capitals the world over." These links between Berlin and other metropolitan cities are part and parcel of the international attraction exerted by our republic. As the lord mayor noted, "our significance in the struggle for peace is due primarily to the economic strength of our country."

Turning to economic successes, Erhard Krack remarked that, in 1985, the total 1980 production was matched within 39 weeks. In other words, compared with 1980, last year's industrial goods production rose to 133.7 percent in all sectors. The speaker also cited impressive figures with regard to the realization of the housing construction program, the core of our social policy. In the years 1981-1985, 119,030 housing units were constructed or modernized. This meant 5,330 more than planned for the past 5-year period, and living conditions were thereby improved for another 322,000 Berliners.

Referring to the enormous speed of construction, the lord mayor cited the following interesting comparison: Marzahn, Hohenschoenhausen and (soon) Hellersdorf--these latest Berlin city districts--will each match the populations of old established large cities such as Schwerin, Potsdam or Gera. As regards the many inner city construction sites, let us remember only the district around the Nikolai Church and the Ernst-Thaelmann Park in Prenzlauer Berg, one of the worst slums in the time of capitalism. Nor should we forget such valuable buildings as Schinkel's Schauspielhaus (theatre) and the French Cathedral on the Platz der Akademie, the new Friedrichstadt Palace, Friedrichsfelde Castle and the new Charite Hospital buildings.

Mentioning the complexity of future construction, the lord mayor said it was imperative to be aware right from the start that new residential quarters or entire city districts are fully acceptable for the public only when they incorporate a city hall, post office and register office, if children can be accommodated in day care centers, telephone kiosks and shopping facilities are easily available. Greater efforts are also needed with regard to the improvement of construction quality. Erhard Krack noted that "all too often, the resident's pleasure in a new apartment is canceled out by defects in the building's execution."

In the past 5 years much has been done for the further expansion of the city's technical infrastructure. Thermal heating plants were reconstructed or expanded, the proportion of modern heating systems rose from 38 percent in 1981 to 53 percent in 1985. Dust pollution in the capital was reduced by 33 percent, sulfur dioxide pollution by 42 percent as the result of the closure of the gas works in Dimitroff Street and Lichtenberg, the conversion to natural gas and the installation of dust collection equipment. Up to now, six city districts have been converted to natural gas, and conversion will continue, affecting roughly 30,000 customers in 1986, especially in Treptow.

The following figure is very revealing in this context: In 1986, M560 million will be spent on environmental control.

As for the development of traffic, the lord mayor emphasized the following: In the past 5 years, 12 new streetcar and 7 new bus routes were established, the intra-urban electric railroad was extended to Ahrensfelde and Wartenberg. Another 12 streetcar and 11 bus routes were extended, 125 km streetcar rails renewed and 26 intra-urban electric railroad and subway stations reconstructed. In 1985 alone, the Berlin Transit Company put into service 114 new Tatra streetcars, 4 subway cars, 115 buses and 360 taxis. Eberhard Krack insisted that both the Berlin Transit Company and the intra-urban electric railroad must be even more energetic about reducing technical mishaps and the traffic interruptions caused thereby. Subsequently the lord mayor praised the remarkable efforts by the postal and telecommunication services. He noted that the Marzahn main post office will be open very soon. "It will be necessary to cut the delays in the mail service, especially within the city, and to improve the operational efficiency and quality of telephone communications. It is planned this year to provide 13,000 new telephone connections and to expand the network of coin operated telephones by 360. The speaker emphasized that Berliners expect greater reliability and punctuality with regard to the mail delivery of newspapers.

The Greater Berlin Magistrat devoted much attention to trade and supply. The addition of 36 new supermarkets made for a total of 150. Further progress is planned. By April, customers in the Greifswalde Street, the Klement-Gottwald Avenue, the retail facilities on the Alexander Platz, the Karl-Liebknecht and Rathaus Streets, Unter den Linden and Friedrich Street will be able to see for themselves how many stores are going to present attractive merchandise. Referring to restaurants, the lord mayor reported that restaurant seating facilities have been increased from 80,000 to 95,000 and over 30,000 sidewalk seatings made available, and by no means in the city only but also in residential centers and recreation centers in the vicinity. He reminded his audience of the 30 new club restaurants, the reconstruction of the popular "Ruebezahl" and "Mueggelseeperle" excursion centers.

Regarding services and repair facilities, Erhard Krack reported that 27 more kinds of services are on offer than 5 years ago. Above average increases were recorded by shoe repairs, tailoring and alterations, repairs to refrigerators, washers and gas appliances as well as domestic electric appliances. He told the deputies that "we are worried about unduly long delivery and service delays still occurring in some sectors. That applies to, for example, laundry services for households, camera and umbrella repairs." In this context, the speaker underlined the involvement of cooperative and private craftsmen/traders: 77 percent of all services derive from 64 craft producer cooperatives and 3,130 private craft enterprises. "It is evidence of the effectiveness of the efforts made by the Greater Berlin Magistrat and the city district councils that 1,164 private craftsmen opened shop since 1981. In the same period, 670 school leavers were trained as skilled craftsmen, including 56 bakers, 58 tailors, 30 carpenters and 74 hairdressers. The chief mayor announced that, "in the interest of satisfactory supplies for the Berliners, we will continue to encourage the issue of trading permits."

Noticeable successes were registered by cultural developments in our city. The figures for visitors to youth clubs rose by about 400,000 in 1981-1985, because substantially more premises were made available. According to the report, another 15 clubs for 1,735 members are to be added this year. Attendance at Berlin theaters also rose. Erhard Krack said that "with a view to the 750-year anniversary celebrations, Berlin artists have a great opportunity by the organization of popular festivities in the city districts to cultivate traditions and, at the same time, create new ones consonant with our age."

Concerning health care in our city, the reporter noted the following: "In the past 5 years, the material prerequisites for comprehensive medical and social care were systematically expanded and 169 medical and 71 dental treatment centers added. Staff rose by 6,000, including more than 400 physicians and dentists. At the present time we have available 26 hospitals with 15,177 beds, 58 polyclinics, 68 treatment centers, 230 state physicians' offices, 71 dentists' offices and 130 pharmacies. This provides all personnel and material conditions to enable our citizens to freely chose a physician, and the time has come to put an end to the refusal of accepting patients. Mindful of the fact that our achievements still do not amount to everything we could achieve, we will deploy the available potential even more effectively for the care of our citizens, continue to improve quality and cut delays," the lord mayor emphasized.

The concluding section of the report dealt with Berlin's budget and fiscal management. Erhard Krack said that "the total of the surpluses of revenues over expenditures in the capital's budget is the visible reflection of the work done in 1981-1985. These surpluses amounted to M114 million and were allocated to the city assembly fund and the funds of the city district assemblies. Among the measures financed by this money (to list only a few) were the provision of courtyards, the expansion of parks and tree planting in residential districts, the reconstruction of sidewalks and pavements in city districts."

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POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

BERLIN YOUTH PROJECT--Young construction and interior finishing workers participating in the "FDJ Initiative Berlin" central youth project will achieve a total output worth M3.9 billion in 1986. More than 20,000 FDJ members from all GDR bezirke are involved in construction work in Berlin, having formed 1,500 youth brigades that are spread over 295 youth projects. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 20 Mar 86] /8918

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21 April 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## GORZOW PZPR EXAMINED, ADMINISTRATION FAULTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Dec 85 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jerzy Nogiec: "The Council is More Than An Office"]

[Text] (Own information) The Gorzow City Committee Executive of the party caused a storm with its decisions, which brought about the recall of a number of officials from their functions. These officials include the president, one of the vice presidents, and two other party members holding high positions in the city administration. Even after these events an outside observer has not noticed any changes.

"On the surface all is calm" says Andrzej Tomczak, the first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee in the Silwana Silk Industry Factory.

"In reality, this caused a sensation both in the city and in the party. City council members and government administration workers were given much to think about. The executive's decisions met with approval not only in Gorzow.

It was known that many institutions and companies in Gorzow function poorly. At the same time there was much evidence that their proposals, demands, and criticisms had not met with any response. This is true also for even those concerns voiced by various Factory of "Silwana", which is one of the largest factories in the Middle Oder region. Those of us in my organization have long expressed the view that people should be held accountable not according to their intentions and declarations but according to the effects of their actions.

Because it was getting increasingly worse in Gorzow the party had to say enough is enough, which was received with great satisfaction.

The principle 'the king is dead, long live the king' does not hold true in the least in this unpleasant matter. Now questions are being raised as to why so much injustice uncovered by the city committee executive was not also uncovered by the various inspection organs, which certainly are not lacking. More than anything else they are asking how the council members could have allowed the functioning of their office and its departments to degenerate so.

Questions have also been raised as to what our council representatives did. We are represented by two members on the council and perhaps they will have to submit an explanation to the staff. It would be bad if the matter ended only in personnel changes. A thorough analysis of the functioning of the authorities and offices of the city is indispensable. It has been said that the curtain must be opened so that the voters have constant view into the workings of the council and also into the office's action.

Without springing back to the old style

"I am the chairman of the city council's committee on Education, Upbringing, Culture and Physical Fitness" says Sylwestr Kuczynski, "the name of the committee alone shows that our committee has a very broad range of activity. We are concerned with areas where the need is great but the means to do things paltry. The majority of our committee members are inexperienced and are first time council members. But we are convinced that the deciding factors are not the means that we have at our disposal but rather how they are used, our ability to select the goals, and mobilize others to assist.

We have decided that we are not going to be hired applauders, we are not going to support the proposals of the administration without researching them and assessing them. Up to now government officials have used surprise tactics. They would submit proposals at the last moment and demand immediate acceptance, without trying to objectively justify them. In addition, decisions were changed outside the commission and council. Wedding palaces were to be built because weddings took place amidst scandalous conditions. The construction was halted due to lack of funds. Now, however, funds have been found for the construction of a concert hall on the foundations built for the Wedding Palace. A municipal house of culture was to be built and for this goal the residents gathered more than 4,000,000 zloty. Not a word has been heard about construction of this and our commission can not find out what happened to the 4 million zloty.

The administration, to be exact the Department of Culture, was concerned more with spectacular events, ones which would be visible throughout Poland, such as theatrical festivals, photograph expositions, artistic open-air events, while at the same time they neglected the development of the culture for the masses and their participation in the cultural activities.

When we brought attention to this, we were convinced perfidiously, that 'that's the way Warwaw wants it' when it assigned the money for particular purposes. What is the Committee there for and what is the City Council for?"

"The government authorities use a method of catching council members unaware" says another council member, "at the last session held after the storm caused by the decisions of the city committee executive presented the council for their acceptance a few resolutions among which were a few which had not been at all discussed by the interested committee. For example, the resolution concerning a reduction of approximately 20-50 percent in the premises tax for small businessmen, small manufacturers, and restauranteers.

This may be justified in some cases, but not in the proposed 39 trades. Neither the council members nor the voters are convinced that mechanics, automobile tinsmiths and varnishers, furriers, people sewing clothing for boutiques, or those running small restaurants with liquor licenses for beer and wine are having difficult times. This time we sent the resolution to committee.

A change like that will require a lot of effort. Some officials do not understand the warning. The most important thing clearly flows from the executive's decision--that the council gains its authority from the will of the voters."

Public servants in government bodies are not just friendly on-lookers

Council member Zbigniew Zmijewski leads the group of young council members, both during the sessions and between. He feels that it is difficult to say why people are interested in serving on councils, committees and collective bodies. This style now causing problems did not develop over night, it was not created by people who bore the consequences for their actions. They bore the consequences of not understanding the politics of the party, changes in the country in recent years, and the changes in methods of governing.

Over and over again they attempted to put the pistol to the council's temple. You must approve immediately, or we will lose the money promised by the "head office", you must approve now, because this is supposed to start tomorrow. We did not want to act as a cat's paw. Our group voted against the 1985 plan and budget resolution. The fact that we were outvoted is another matter, but at least that proves that not all of the members are passive toward the methods used by the officials.

A few factors play an important role in the relations between the council and the administration. These factors include the inexperience of the majority of council members, and their excessive compliancy. In any case people who volunteered to serve on government bodies were treated a little like friendly on-lookers."

Jerzy Lipke has expressed a similar view. He is chairman of the Housing Commission called by the city president.

He states that "we began to understand that the administration would like to treat us as a tool, as a rubber stamp confirming the decisions of the Department of Housing. But in the committee luckily there were 18 volunteers who were well matched and self-sacrificing. We demanded that we not be submitted prepared lists of housing allocations but rather the entire stack of housing requests.

We worked very hard, not only looking at the requests, but also went on 200 on-site inspections. We discussed for hours over who of the most needy should be allocated housing. and it is known who scrambles for municipal housing. In our best faith, we worked out a list, based on our understanding the circumstances. Although we realized from the beginning that we are only

an advisory committee, we were immensely disturbed when we say the posted list of housing allocations with changes which our consciences could not accept.

Now the matter is being looked into again. Perhaps it would have been able to avoid this if we had been trusted. Should not the president and the whole administration be concerned about this? Will society develop if we are going to meet with such treatment?

Council members are the last to find out

Even after the executive's decisions an ordinary session of the People's Council of Gorzow took place, during which its chairman Jan Znoj informed briefly the members about the executive's resolution and the president's resignation. The council members were not informed about the vice president and the two other high officials.

One of the council members said that the entire affair in city administration results from a disregard of democratic principles, and is a flight from democracy. It is as if there have been no lessons learned from the IX Party Congress.

We are not faced here with shady business dealings or embezzlement, but rather with a style of governing. There are people guilty, definite individuals, this is true, but they acted in this manner because they were allowed to act in this manner. This refers to the councils of the highest levels, to the ministries, to city councils, even to party organizations and also to the City Committee."

According to Stanislaw Adamus, vice chairman of the City Council and secretary of the City Committee of the Party, the case of Gorzow represents a digression from democracy. There were continual attempts to surprise the council with prepared resolutions, attempts at digressing from the decisions of the People's Council, disregarding the warnings of the executive of the City Committee, and finally inefficiency of action."

Let no one attempt to say that the recalled comrades were not warned and that their errors were not clearly pointed out.

That what happened in Gorzow is the topic for thought not only in the local area. The lesson is clear that there is no deviation from the line of the IX Party Congress and there can be no return to voluntarism and a high-handed manner. This should be an important signal not only for the city of Gorzow and not only for the administration.

13073/12948

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POLITICS

POLAND

### MINISTERS DISCUSS ACHIEVEMENTS, NEW YEAR GOALS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] As is traditional, PAP journalists questioned the ministers about what they felt should be recognized as the most important achievement or event of the past year of the ministry they directed, as well as what they regarded as the most important task for 1986.

Miroslaw Cybulko, minister of health and social welfare:

I think that the study and adoption by the government of the Polish program entitled "Health for all in the year 2000" should be emphasized. This program came into being at the suggestion of the World Health Organization. This document defines the basic conditions needed to assure the health of the residents of Poland, and has already been recommended for use in central and regional planning. It also points out possible actions and directions toward improving sanitary conditions by the end of the century.

I think that the heart transplants performed by the team under the direction of Docent Zbigniew Religa of the Zabrze Medical Adademy Clinic stands out among our medical achievements of the past year. Of course, more than anything else this should be considered the success of Z. Religa and his team, but it certainly would not have been possible without the accomplishments and development of heart surgery in our country. We have also had other achievements. I would like to mention that a new medical academy has opened in Bydgoszcz and that future doctors are already being trained there. During the past year we have also noted a great increase in the amount of modern medical instruments, primarily computer tomographs and ultrasonographs.

Referring to the goals for the coming year, I am in favor of the continued strengthening of basic medical care. This is the first contact the sick have with the doctor, and this affects the patient's long-term opinion of the entire health service. When possible it is important to make a wide choice of doctors available. I do, however, believe that one should not make any impetuous changes in the health service structure. Above all, we are concerned with the improvement of medical care, so that the patient's contact with the health service leads to the greatest satisfaction on both sides. We will continue to strive energetically for improvement in medical

supplies, especially in such areas as variety and disposable equipment which are particularly desired. Improving the sanitary conditions of the country ranks very highly among our goals. This agrees with the World Health Organization's principle that 'your health is in your hands.' We are trying to popularize this message in the conviction that the health of the Poles depends not only on the efforts of the health service but also from their health practices.

Stefan Jarzebski, minister of environment and natural resource protection:

When speaking of the ministry's most important achievements in the past year, one would like to be able to point to the large number of rivers, lakes and reservoirs which have been returned to a completely pollution-free state. One would also like to be able to say that the problem of air pollution has been solved. Unfortunately, all action aimed at improving our natural environment we have undertaken is by nature a long-term activity. Not only this ministry but all of society must devote many years and much effort in order for there to be visible effects. One of the most essential achievements of the past year has been the task of maintaining the established rate of growth in the number of sewage treatment plants established. In spite of great difficulties with materials and with implementation of our plan, we have succeeded in approaching the number of 200 sewage treatment plants completed yearly, a figure which was until recently unattainable. Thanks to this fact today we can say that the growth in the amount of polluted sewage has been checked.

1986 will be the first year of the new 5-year plan, which among other things should create the basis for environmental protection and a starting point for solving the problems of air pollution, especially the problem of carbon dioxide. One should emphasize the fact that for the first time in the past 40 years nearly 9 percent of the country's capital expenditure funds are to be appropriated for environmental protection and water resources management. In the coming year we must strengthen our education-propagandistic activity, which should lead to rational thought about the environment. It is everyone's duty and responsibility to attend to this for the rational management of natural resources. This can be considered one of the most urgent tasks of today.

Czeslaw Kiszcza, minister of internal affairs

1985 has turned out to be commonly perceived as a time of stabilization in the country's social-political life. The functioning of the organs of security, law, and order has become increasingly better and has more efficiently served the working class and all working people. The responsibilities involved in defending the citizens' interests and property were carried out more efficiently. People lived more calmly, they felt safer at home, at work, and on the street. The battlecries and appeals of political enemies, both those in the country and foreign centers of anti-Polish diversion which urged hostile actions, disturbances, and demonstrations were not heeded by society.

The immense increase of crime, which has intensified since 1980, has been curbed. The detection of criminal and economic offenses has been improved markedly. The problem of social pathology has become the object of our particular interest. I think that much remains to be done in this area. The activity that presently is being carried out is still not up to what is needed and expected by society.

Within the ministry an important event occurred on 31 July 1985 when the Sejm passed the law concerning the service of Security Service and Citizens' Militia functionaries. The law outlined the principles of the service, authority, and duties of the functionaries.

In the coming year we continue to wish, in the broadest sense, to increasingly better serve the citizens, to improve the state of security, to defend the young generation against moral corruption, and to protect public and private property. We also want to broaden our social activities aimed at strengthening respect for the law, and to improve preventative actions.

We also continue our vigilance, reconnaissance and opposition to political adversaries, both domestic and foreign, who threaten the most vital interests of the Polish nation and state. In spite of the fact that they receive no social heeding they still have not abandoned their destructive activity, continuing in their attempts to provoke and divide society, and to incite others to wrongdoing. I am convinced that the long-awaited 10th PZPR Party Congress will release new strengths and social energy in this fight against criminality and for a peaceful and safe life. The government program for further reduction of criminality and other manifestations of social pathology, which is already prepared, will serve these efforts.

Janusz Maciejewicz, minister of mining and the machine building industry:

The iron and steel metallurgy industry as well as the metal and machine industry were hard hit by the weather conditions of last January and February. These conditions, which are well known, cost the industries an average of 12 working days. In spite of a program by the metallurgy industry to make up for the lost time, we have not succeeded totally in completing our annual assignment. The losses in production of laminated products which occurred during these two months played a prominent part in the results achieved by the entire manufacturing industry during the remaining months.

But in the overall outcome of the past year it is worthwhile to emphasize the positive tendencies. Among these positive tendencies I would include for example the growth in work productivity, which amounted to a 4.3 percent increase in relation to 1984. This contributed to the growth of production in a few important branches, which in turn led to an improvement in the balance of supply and demand for many products.

The leading task of our industries under this ministry in 1986 is continued work in improving the flow of consumer goods to the marketplace as well as a perceptible increase in exports to both payment regions. In addition, action aimed at increasing metallurgical products is indispensable. We have

given the metallurgy industry the task of producing 12,200,000 tons of laminated products, which is made more difficult because one must count on a further drop in employment.

A matter of immense importance for even-paced work in factories producing finished goods is the establishment of formal cooperative networks. I hope that the new economic parameters, which will come into effect in January, will efficiently contribute to the improvement of this area.

A weighty task for the coming year remains further work on the next five year plan. Our industry lacks capital to a considerable degree and requires rapid modernization, including product modernization. The visible tendencies in the industry of dropping employment should also be dealt with. In planning progress and modernization of the industry we would like to utilize to a decidedly greater degree the socialistic division of labor and the cooperation of those countries belonging to the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA). Closer contacts were established this year with the ministers and industries of the majority of these countries. This fact and the decision made by the leaders of these countries point out some possibilities which can be better exploited in this area.

Wladyslaw Majewski, minister of communications:

The completion and the start of functioning of many large and important telecommunication investments was the success of 1985 for the entire ministry. These include modernized municipal telephone systems in Krakow, Lodz, Lublin and Bialystok. New automatic telephone exchanges which allow concurrent use of 6 and 7 digit telecommunications systems were put into service in Warsaw. Presently it is possible throughout the country to dial 1007 inter-city connections and 46 international connections without operator assistance. Telephone connections with Greece, Belgium, Holland and Denmark are among the new possibilities now in service. We are pleased also with the improvement in the promptness of the postal service as well as the noticeable decline in the number of stolen and damaged packages.

In the new year we will begin tasks which are considerably more difficult and extremely essential both for the citizens and the entire economy. I have already informed the public about the changes in the next 5-year plan. These changes include a 50 percent increase in the number of subscriptions [translator's note: to the telephone system] in comparison to the last 5-year plan and a quadrupling of the number of intercity connections. In 1986 we want to install 130,000 new telephones. The telephone industry has begun the production of fiber optic cable. The importance of this is attested by the fact that the CEMA countries have recognized the priority of production of fiber optics, with the communications industries connected with our ministry playing a major role. This is not only a reason for pride but is also an immense responsibility which must be born by Polish scientists. The most difficult task, however, will be maintaining and developing favorable trends in the postal system's functioning. This means reducing the lines of clients at post offices dropping off or picking up mail, and hastening the delivering of letters or packages to the addressee and the optimum

security of dispatched mailings. In addition, there were significant achievements in the field of foreign trade, particularly in the area of exports. I would like to thank Stanislaw Nieckarz, finance minister:

One of the very important matters which we were able to finish in 1985 was defining the framework within which Polish debt was refinanced and signing the appropriate agreement concerning payment with all of the creditors. In addition, one should also add the establishment of contact with the International Monetary Fund and beginning the first talks concerning Poland entering that organization.

In the past year the ministry also succeeded in having a lower budget deficit than foreseen in the plan and the budget resolution.

In spite of many reservations, which may be still valid, we have noted certain progress in the effectiveness of influence of financial tools affecting the direction and means used in business activity.

The continuation of this line of operation will be the main task of the financial policy in the coming year. Through financial and economic tools, and especially through the strengthening the role of credit, we want to stimulate, to a greater degree, the development action of businesses; concurrent with the main assumptions of the National Annual Plan. We also want to promote greater efficiency in management and to expand the economy's export capacity.

The principle 'Credit-yes, relief-no' should promote a gradual elimination of unprofitable and inefficient activity and also increase financial discipline.

In addition, one of the main tasks of the coming year is lowering the inflation index.

We will intensify our efforts to obtain credit from the International Monetary Fund and we will strive for mitigation of the conditions for obtaining credit from other sources which are presently extremely difficult.

We are counting on our partners to appreciate how far the lack of imported supplies projects presently on the partial utilization of our export capacities.

Jozef Niewiadomski, minister of construction, private and public land use management:

In presenting the most important achievements of the past year I will start with construction, although I consider the public sector economy to be equally important. We are fulfilling last year's housing plans in collectivized construction by turning over the keys to apartments to 130,000 families. In so doing we have completed the 3-year program whose guidelines outlined the construction of 385,000 apartments in multi-family buildings. We have surpassed considerably this goal by a figure of 24,000 units. We have noted substantial progress in hospital construction. In 1985 we added

approximately 5,000 hospital beds to health service facilities. I would like to mention that even in the 1970's which were characterized by much investment we added on a yearly basis an average of 3,180 hospital beds. The effects of school construction this year are also advantageous when a similar comparison is made. We note with satisfaction good results in the construction of clinics, kindergartens, and centers for shopping and services.

The list of industrial plants, which have been completed and are now functioning is also extensive. This list consists especially of industrial plants which are centrally planned and fill government orders. I will only mention a few such as the Ursus Mechanized Factory in Lublin with a couple of plants, two paper machines in the Cellulose Factory in Kwidzyn, the Fertilizer Plant in Police, the Cold-Bent Sectional Material Division of the Pokoj Steelworks, and the Metal Thermal Working Division of the Katowice Steelworks. From among our investments I consider important the establishment of mineral wool production in Malkinia and the advanced construction of a similar factory in Cigacice, presently in the first phase of production. After achieving full production capacity, these factories will double the production of this insulating material in Poland.

In the public sector of the economy I would especially single out establishing conditions for a great increase in the number of renovated buildings. This has been achieved by the development of the potential of specialized businesses and the increase of funds for renovations. We have noted a decided improvement in municipal mass transit and better supplies of rolling-stock. The investment program aimed at improving the water supply for cities and towns and the construction of sewage treatment plants is proceeding favorably.

In the coming year I consider the integration of two former ministries and their fusion into one efficient organism to be an essential concern. This requires the creation of the proper working conditions for the regional self-governing organs and treating Private and Public Land Use Management and Construction as one whole. We want to do everything so that such things as renovations and modernization of existing buildings are viewed as equally important as new housing construction. We intend to concentrate our efforts on the important and difficult problem of preparing for new construction and also for overcoming another barrier in housing--the development of the production of materials.

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21 April 1986

**POLITICS****POLAND****CORRESPONDENT REPORTS GORBACHEV-REAGAN TV EXCHANGE**

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec p 1

[Text] (From our correspondent in Moscow) During a new conference hastily called Friday evening, V. Lemeyko, the director of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Soviet Press Department informed foreign correspondents that as a result of a bilateral agreement between the USSR and the USA Mikhail Gorbachev will appear before American television audiences and Ronald Reagan will appear before Soviet television audiences.

The appearances will take place on 1 January 1986, for the occasion of the New Year.

The Moscow political observers appraise the joint decision as something more than a gesture. It is the first of its kind in the relations between the two countries and is being treated as a sign of the certain improvement in Soviet-American relations, resulting from the Geneva meeting.

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POLITICS

POLAND

COMMEMORATIVE SERVICE FOR 1970 SHIPBUILDER DEATHS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] 17 December is the 15th anniversary of the tragic events of December, 1970. As is already traditional, the residents of Gdynia, Sopot, and Gdansk paid tribute to the memory of the victims, fallen dockyard workers.

Delegations placed wreaths and bouquets of flowers at the monument to the December, 1970 victims in Gdynia. The delegations represented workshops in the city such as the Commune of Paris Shipyard, the Gdynia seaport, the Naut Shipyard for Repairs, the Polish Ocean Lines, the Dalmor Fishing Company, the Navy Shipyard and the PRON City Council.

Similarly, the citizens of Szczecin paid tribute to the memory of the victims of the tragic events of December, 1970. On 17 December at the commemorative plaque at the main gate of the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Gdansk bouquets of flowers were placed by representatives of the shipyard directors, the PZPR Plant Committee, the Plant Administration of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and delegations from the production divisions.

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POLITICS

POLAND

WROCLAW PZPR COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "The Work and the Authority of the Party;"  
passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /On the 21st of the month the Plenum of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Wroclaw discussed the tasks of the provincial administration for the first half of this year before the 10th Party Congress. The first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Zdzislaw Balicki, stated the main assumptions for party activity and the tasks resulting from them for the administration./

/The pre-congress period should cause an enlivening and strengthening of all party organs./ Documents of the congress will be discussed along with non-party members: the plan for the PZPR program and the tenets of the Congress. The provincial party organization--he said--has many feats to accomplish, primarily in preserving and deepening the processes of normalization and stabilization of society, an ideological and organizational strengthening of the party and increasing its political and ideological influences and authority.

One particular task is the rebuilding of the party ranks in the village environment--said a farmer from the Milicz township, /Franciszek Zietek./ We must broaden our ranks among young people.

The president of the Provincial Administration of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], /Ryszard Nawrat,/ joined in on this subject and stated that more and more youth see that their place is in the party and ask for admission into its ranks.

In the resolution adopted it was recommended that the people to be chosen as delegates to the 10th Congress (which are to be 45 in number) should be those enjoying the greatest authority and trust, who would show enough concern to respond critically and to announce constructive proposals.

After the plenary session the members of the provincial administration and the secretaries of the municipal bureau commissions were able to conduct individual conversations about their pressing problems with provincial leadership personnel of the national government, of the institutions of control, of the justice administration and with the secretaries of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR.

/Taking advantage of this form of consultation, which has now been repeated for the second time in the atmosphere of last year's session of the plenum, I asked the chiefs of the Wroclaw Treasury Chamber, Stanislaw Sarnowski and the Nik [Supreme Chamber of Control] delegate, Antoni Wroblewski, what were the actual goals of their activity?/

--In the past year alone the Treasury Chamber uncovered 65 million zloty in unpaid taxes among dishonest taxpayers in the private sector in the Wroclaw Province./

Through the activity of the IRCh the NIK will concentrate--asserted A. Wroblewski in his turn--on taking these paths of control, which will serve to ease the lives of the people. /We have begun control concerning the supervision of heating in society and checking on proper functioning of the administration of resident homes./

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POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES HOLD PLENUMS

Lublin Plenum

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Kopec (PAP): "Lublin: Improvement of the Educational System;" passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The main directions of party work in the process of improving the educational system in the province of Lublin were the topic of the plenum of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Lublin on the 22nd of this month./

It is society's conviction that the main educational task of the school is the shaping of patriotic, internationalistic attitudes engaged in the building of a socialist society. /A condition for efficient educational activity/--it was stated--/is the coordination of the actions of all participants in the educational process. This task falls to the schools./ It was also stressed that a better understanding of the principles of education is necessary in the workplace. Young people who spend time there in one the job training should not be subjected to bad role models and apathetic examples toward working and discipline.

A member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Tadeusz Porebski, who participated in the plenum, stated that the problems of education will soon be the subject of the plenary session of the party's Central Committee. He stressed that the strategy up to this time of the party and the socialist country as a whole has achieved decidedly positive effects, despite its shortcomings. Several important problems face education in the coming years. It is already known that it will not be possible to rebuild the educational base in such a way as to fully eradicate the needs which the demographic increases have created. It is therefore necessary to search for another means to prevent a worsening of the present conditions of education. The secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR also called attention to the disturbing phenomenon of the decline by a half of persons engaged in non-resident studies. It is essential--he stated--that we raise the quality of education to a higher level. But to achieve this requires some method of action.

/The plenum passed a resolution defining the main direction for party work in education./

Zielona Gora Plenum

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Kajan: "Zielona Gora: the Party's Tasks in the Economy;"  
passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] (Our own source) /An evaluation of the implementation of the 3-year plan in the region and the tasks of the provincial party organization in realizing the socio-economic plan for the year 1986 were the subject of the meeting of the plenary session of the Provincial Committee in Zielona Gora on the 22d of this month, which was led by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Zbigniew Nieminski./

The problems of the plenum--said the secretary of the Provincial committee, /Roman Czolhan,/ are connected to the tasks of party work in the pre-congress campaign, namely an increase in common efforts for economic work in the province and at the same time a deepening and an improvement of the efficiency of the role of party organizations in the socio-economic and economic-production sphere. The leading concern here is an effective and elastic cooperation between the fundamental party organizations in the concrete environments and businesses and the self-rule of the workers, the union movement, the youth unions and the trade and specialist associations.

It was said that /a responsible, worker and citizen movement is needed which would be competent in social and specialist spheres, and which would establish requirements for efficient and effective work, appropriate quality and disciplined production activities./ Also stressed was the role of economic education, which should be grounded in the concrete realities of businesses and branches. This must be a systematic and longstanding activity and not merely a campaign issue.

/At the end of the session a plan was adopted for preparing for the pre-congress campaign within the provincial party organization./

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POLITICS

POLAND

FOCUS ON SOVIET DELEGATION TO INTELLECTUALS CONGRESS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] On the 21st of this month a meeting took place in Warsaw between a group of members of the Soviet delegation participating in the intellectual Congress on the Defense of the Peaceful Future of the World and representatives of the chief activists of the Main Administration of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship]. Among the Soviet guests present were the president of the composers' union of the USSR, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Supreme Council of the USSR--Tikhon Khrennikov, who presided over the delegations of intellectuals from the USSR at the Warsaw congress.

During the meeting the president of the Main Administration of the TPPR, Stanislaw Wronski, informed the representatives of the Soviet intellectuals about the activities of the TPPR, one of whose primary goals is supporting the peaceful policies of the socialist countries with the Soviet Union at the vanguard through propagating and strengthening the fraternal friendship between our two nations, and also bearing witness to Polish society about the significance of Polish-Soviet friendship for the security of our nation and peace in Europe and the world. Tikhon Khrennikov--in the name of the Soviet Intellectual Congress in Defense of the Peaceful Future of the World made on him. Among other things he said that the work of this forum proves emphatically that the struggle for peace is the concern of each man independent of his country of origin or his profession. However, the particular responsibility of presenting this obvious fact to the consciousness of all people rests with the representatives of world culture, science and art.

The Warsaw congress--added T. Khrennikov--has taken on particular significance in light of the program presented to the world by the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachov, for the complete liquidation by the year 2000 of nuclear and chemical weapons and also a significant reduction of conventional weapons. These proposals met with deep interest and understanding as well as the hope of all the participants of the congress. In sharing his impressions T. Khrennikov stressed his personal joy at the possibility of a stay in Warsaw, a city which he had seen for the first time 40 years ago as a sea of ruins, a war sacrifice to Nazi barbarism. The now rebuilt Warsaw is the best example of what a nation can accomplish by living and working for peace. (PAP)

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRESS CONFERENCE ON ARMED FORCES RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Jan 86 pp 1, 7

[Article by Col Waldemar Makowiecki: "Conference with the Press Spokesman for the MON [Ministry of National Defense]: Efficient Management in the Army (from our own sources);" passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Problems of efficient management in the armed forces, principles and efforts for efficient and thrifty undertakings as well as the effects obtained by these methods were the subject of the conference of the Ministry of National Defense's press spokesman with national and international journalists which took place on the 24th of this month in the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Engineering. The deputy press secretary of the department, the chief of the Press and Information Division of the GZP WP [Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army], Col Symforian Chwilkowski, stated that the army is vitally interested in all aspects of the country's development, especially in scientific and technological progress in the national economy, which is connected in an essential way to the army's countenance and the conditions of service./

Problems concerning improving the efficiency of military management were discussed by a representative of the General Staff of the WP--Col /Tadeusz Sredzinski/, who stressed that the system of efficient management which had been in operation for many years and which will continue to be improved allows the maximum efficiency in utilizing the means designated for the country's defense. However, the primary goal in all operations is the fighting readiness of the military and its training standards.

There have been measurable economic effects in recent years, which amount to billions of zloty. There are also immeasurable advantages, such as habits of good administration and thrifty management, aroused in thousands of young citizens who return to their workplaces and institutions after their period of basic service.

The recent session of the Thirteenth Conference on the Efficient Management of the Armed Forces, which has become an excellent forum for the exchange of experience, has completed a reckoning of its previously assigned tasks and has traced out the directions and outlined methods for improving army management in the near future and in the following years in light of the resolutions of

the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR of 10 December 1985 and of the 23rd Plenum of our party.

Participants in the conference were especially interested in possibilities for transferring experience to the civilian sector, applying some of the solutions to the national economy, like the motivational system for good workers which exists in the army.

Representatives of the central institute of the MON--Col Stanislaw Bilski, Col Antoni Nowak, Col Marian Koch, Col Tadeusz Goluch and Col Mieczyslaw Laskowski, shared the floor in answering these and other questions; they also discussed activities undertaken in the technical and quartermaster's departments, in research works, in the economic education of the military environment, and also in the field of inventiveness and innovations as well as the advantages resulting from them. Especially emphasized were the effects achieved so far from the modernization of fighting equipment from old sources, production and the regeneration of interchangeable parts, the more and more widespread use of training tools and simulators in instruction, efficient substitutes for the operation of costly fighting equipment, the development of our own production and services, the system of centralized transportation, agricultural and husbandry production which takes advantage of secondary raw materials, as well as instructional-production activities to the advantage of the national economy. Finally, the conference, which has as its goal the familiarization of journalists with the problems of efficient management in the army, has become the first useful step, though not the only one, in this direction.

In his turn the commandant of the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Engineering, Col Prof Engineer Janusz Janecki informed the assembly of the history and development of the outpost, the scientific and technological research conducted here, the cooperation with civilian scientific centers and industrial bureaus as well as services for the national economy.

The conference place--the Military Institute of Armor and Automotive Engineering--was not chosen by chance. For the Institute possesses many solutions whose common goal is the lowering of the costs of operation and maximizing the effects with the smallest expenditures, it conducts varied scientific research work on the armed forces while also serving the good of the national economy.

Participants at the conference viewed a display showing the nature of the work done there as well as a film presenting the development of the Institute and its work up to this time; they also met with the new regional chief of native production.

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21 April 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## PZPR EXPERT SEES EROSION OF PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION IN WEST

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish 8 Nov 85 p 12

[Interview with Tadeusz Iwinski by Wladzimierz Sochacki: "Western Parliamentarism on the Defensive"; date and place not specified; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /In capitalist countries during the last few decades the phenomenon of a gradual erosion of the role of parliament in the national system of the discharge of authority has been apparent. Meanwhile, the power of the government, especially the executive branch, has become broader and broader. This phenomenon is accompanied by the myth of the excellence, even the model character of democracy in its western edition. This conviction exists despite the fact that the present picture of parliamentarism in the Western countries has diverged significantly from the sources propagated by the classicists of the theory of democracy--Charles Montesquieu, Thomas Jefferson, or John Stuart Mill. We have asked Docent Habilitatus Dr Tadeusz Iwinski, the director of the Office of Political Parties and the Party Systems of World Capitalism of the Academy of Social Sciences to share his reflections on the topic of the evolution of bourgeois parliamentarism./

/PERSPEKTYWY/: Perhaps we can begin our conversation by defining the basic sources and reasons for the lessening of the significance of parliament in the mechanism of the discharge of authority in the capitalist countries.

/Tadeusz Iwinski/: In my opinion, the fundamental reason for this process is the phenomenon of the concentration and centralization of capital which occurs in the economic sphere. Its reflection in the political sphere is the concentration of authority in the hands of the government and the administration, at the expense of the real power of the representative bodies. This leads to the centralization of authority, limiting the power of the local bodies, whose dominant position (as in Japan, Portugal, Italy, and France) is often held by the left. Big business can more effectively realize their interests, for example, through the intermediary of pressure groups, through an executive branch which is submissive to it, than through a parliament which is hard to manipulate. Its composition as a rule is not really representative of the social structure that elected it; nevertheless, various political tendencies are voiced within it, including opposition to the elite

authorities. Limiting the role of parliament thus clearly has a class character.

/[Question] However the role of parliament in such countries as, for example, West Germany or Italy, is different from its role in the United States. In the former instance the government, after all, is appointed by parliament and is--theoretically at least--responsible to it./

[Answer] If, by the concept of parliamentarism, we understand a certain mechanism of governing, which establishes the existence of parliament as a representative of the nation and its sovereignty over or at least its equality with the government, it is apparent that this mechanism has various manifestations depending on the country's form of government or party system. Nor is the size of the country insignificant; for example, the 14-person parliament of Tural, the smallest in the world, functions differently from the several hundred person, two-house parliaments of Japan and the United States.

The most apt division today is the distinction between the parliamentary-ministerial model and the presidential. In the former the principal political decisions should be undertaken on lines of action between the parliament and the government. In this instance the government ought to be responsible to the government which appointed it. In the parliamentary-ministerial form of government, which is most often found in fully developed capitalism, we are dealing with a characteristic evolution: its transformation into a ministerial-parliamentary form. This finds express, among other ways, in limiting the powers of the nation's representative body, and primarily its legislative function (more precisely its norm-creating function, for it also concerns passing the country's budget), which is gradually taken over by the government and its supervisory function. In this model the governing ministry is a collective body, and its chief does not have especially strong individual powers, with the exception of the so-called chancellor democracies of Austria and West Germany.

It is different, however, in the presidential system, which is in operation in the United States and many Latin American countries, among others. There the executive chief is essentially a one-man government, his ministers are only his helpers. The decisionmaking process is executed on a line from the president to the parliament. The president, chosen as a rule in a general election, has enormous power. The limitations of parliament's role in this system are usually significantly greater than in the parliamentary-ministerial system, since parliament can neither appoint nor recall the government. The President of the United States, for example, enjoys the right to veto laws passed by Congress--the law in question passes only when, in the course of a new vote, two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate approve it, which is very difficult to achieve in the politically divided Congress.

In conclusion, we can assert that the erosion of parliament's role is a phenomenon common to all of capitalism, although it manifests itself to varying degrees in the individual countries.

[Question] /The erosion of the role of parliament in the West is a fact. But this fact does not seem to be recognized in society's consciousness./

[Answer] Yes, because the bourgeois parliaments, aside from their legislative and supervisory functions, which are in crisis, also fulfill other functions, among which is a propaganda function, that is, a legitimizing function, using scientific terminology. Their task is thus to convince society that the leadership is representative of the citizens as a whole, since parliament exactly reflects the configuration of political powers, and the government makes decisions through the approbation of the representatives of the nation. Obviously, such a thesis is, as a rule, far from reality, but sufficiently attractive to the governors as well as a significant portion of the governed, to be a constant element of the social consciousness.

A significant portion of the citizens in Western countries succumb to this pretext and do not realize that the role of parliament is falling deeper and deeper into decline. The leftist powers, primarily the communist party, are trying to oppose this phenomenon. Part of the concept of a parliamentary path to socialism is to realize that these organs are precisely national assemblies through which a program of wide-ranging reforms can be realized through suitable social mobilization, even seizing authority in the interest of fundamental social groups. However, from the leftist point of view, this is an optimal view, which is clearly at variance with the present political reality.

In summary, we can say that the role of parliament in capitalism has historically experienced a clear evolution. Presently in Western countries parliament is neither the principal means of decisionmaking nor of forming political ideologies. It only remains an important national center for political and economic debates in individual countries, and in addition, since it is fixed in a bourgeois system, it gives a democratic alibi to the leaders of big business. And that is why it is necessary.

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21 April 1986

## POLITICS

POLAND

## PERSONNEL CHANGES, PRESS EVENTS NOTED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish Nov 85 pp 53-59

[Passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] /September 1/ Barbara Sobanska was appointed to the position of assistant editor-in-chief of MAGAZYN POLSKI.

/September 3/ In Warsaw in the presence of Jan Dobraczynski, the president of the National Council of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], the Presidium of PRON debated matters concerning the book program under the direction of Jozef Czyrka. The discussion concentrated on establishing the reasons for delay in the production of school textbooks. They recalled the results announced at the previous meetings--especially those concerning assurances for sufficient quantities of paper and allocation of hard currency for printing materials and replacement parts for machinery, which have been achieved already to some extent but which must be achieved further in order to make up for the delay this year and to eliminate the delay for next year. The production of school textbooks and scientific and technical literature, bearing in mind that they are books which are "difficult to print," demands an intense capital expenditure for typesetting and bookbinding by our printers. They decided to send an opinion to the president of the Council of Ministers on the necessity of obtaining, as quickly as possible, approval from the Government Presidium of a plan for the developing of printing in the years 1985-1990. A second variant of the plan was advanced (a variant for development calculated from the objective capabilities of the national economy: eight publications per month in 1990, ten in 1995), which emphasized the necessity for optimizing publishing programs from the standpoint of primary social needs.

/September 19/ The press council met in Warsaw for its first working session. The topic of the gathering was the problems concerning the way the press law works in practice. It was recalled that the July 5 session of the Council of Ministers of this year was dedicated to these issues, where the ministers became acquainted with the evaluation of the press's access to information, of reaction to criticism in the press, and to the activity of government administration press spokesmen in this area. In discussing the results of this session, the president of the Press Council, editor Jozef Krolikowski, maintained that the government soundly performs its tasks of informing the

press, and every citizen through the medium of the press, about the activities undertaken by the government administration in every detail, about projects, concepts, and the results of the work of government organs. This is the result of the openness of the activities of the leaders and the broad publicness of their life, which is witnessed by the leadership's intransitory treatment of dialogue with society.

A year after the press law came into being, one can say that the principles obligating the administration to share information with the press and to answer critical publications have been strengthened. The Government Press Office, which organizes about 150 conferences annually, plays a positive role in this. The department spokesmen better fulfill their obligations to the press, although some of them still create barriers to the access of information; however, one cannot say that there is any obstruction of access to clear facts. The situation is somewhat worse with regard to their reaction to press criticism. The majority of the institutions or organizations concerned, it is true, give constructive answers to the reproaches made in the press, but in some cases the positions which they present do not demonstrate any desire to correct the negative phenomena which the press have pointed out. This point was also raised during the consultations with candidates for Parliament.

We should recall that the Council of Ministers has obligated the ministers and leaders of the central and provincial governments to intensify their activities toward consistent compliance with the articles of the press law and the executive acts, especially in granting the press access to information and in reacting to press criticism.

The Press Council acquainted itself with the information about trials concerning press matters before the public courts. It was recalled that the press law introduced the possibility of forcing information from institutions or organizations obligated to share it. Up to this time no case with a demand for sharing any specific information has been brought before the Supreme Administrative Court. This phenomenon is positive, but it may simply mean that the publishers have resigned from the possibility of forcing them to divulge specific information. This does not mean that the relevant article of the press law is lame; it has an important prophylactic function, for with the possibility of obtaining information through the courts, pressure is created to share such information in the normal course of events.

Other issues under discussion concerned the defense of the rights of individuals which have been encroached upon by press publications. These issues were not new, for they had been recorded even before the appearance of the press law. From research conducted by the Ministry of Justice it appears, however, that the number of such incidents has not grown, and in 1983 there were 28 of them and in the past year 24, and in the course of almost nine months of this year 16. Most of these incidents (eight) have occurred in Warsaw, with only one or two occurring in other individual districts. Many of these incidents are investigated by the NSA [Supreme Administrative Court], and because they concern problems connected to the press, receive an amicable settlement.

The Press Council adopted a plan of activity for the next year. They anticipate an examination of the problems of the development of the press, radio, and television in accordance with the assumptions of the NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan] for the years 1986-1990, of the conditions for practicing journalism, and of the system of instruction and improvement of the journalism cadres. Also evaluated was the functioning of the press, radio and television in light of the press law.

Several Press Council problem commissions were appointed. The Commission of the Practicing of the Journalistic Profession will tackle issues concerning the laws and obligations of the journalist, the ethics of the journalistic profession and the material conditions for practicing the profession. The Press Law Commission will occupy itself, among other problems, with the press's access to information, the functioning of press criticism, and the investigation of questions, complaints and pleas for intervention in legal matters. Also appointed was the Commission for matters concerning the Material-Technical Basis of the Press and Radio, and the Commission for matters concerning the Education and Improvement of the Press Cadre and Journalistic Research.

The Press Council also heard information from the ZG [Main Administration] of the Association of Journalists of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] about the establishment of a project for a new group structure for journalists. (PAP)

/September 30/ Tadeusz Lesniak was removed from his position as editor-in-chief of the Cracow cultural informer KRAK to go into retirement.

/September 30/ In the Warsaw Journalist's House, three sections of the SD [Democratic Party] of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], the press, intelligence, and radio-television sections, organized a meeting with the candidates for Parliament: the Vice Premier of the national register Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski; the journalist of Warsaw running for Parliament, Waldemar Krajewski; the editor-in-chief of the leading sports publisher TVP, Witold Lipski; the editor-in-chief of WIES WSPOLCZESNA (The Contemporary Village), Ryszard Lukaszewicz; the editor-in-chief of EXPRESS WIECZORNY (The Evening Express), Ryszard Wojna; a commentator for RZECZPOSPOLITA (The Commonwealth); and Jozef Wojcicki, the editor-in-chief of SLOWO POWSZECHNE (Everyone's Word).

Taking part in the discussion, Halina Kucharska, an editor for Polish Radio, stated that in the future Parliament, the Commission of Culture should establish a subcommission on the means of mass communications, which would occupy itself with the overall shape of the workings of the mass media. In Kucharska's opinion, the most pressing problems to be solved in this forum are the question of the journalism cadres and journalistic education; the question of the collective structure of journalists; and the question of the printing base and television and radio equipment. The future of the press, radio and television, a high standard in publishing, an efficient flow of information, and the influx of young cadres into the profession all depend on workable solutions to these problems.

Vice Premier Rakowski said, among other things, that he did not disown the past, but that aside from a passion for writing nothing now connects him to the journalistic profession: "I feel like a high civil servant (...) My goal is to enter Parliament with the experience I have acquired in the workings of the government." Speaking about the journalistic profession, Rakowski added that it is a dangerous profession: blows fall on the heads of journalists at every turning point in history. We must seek the causes for the reduction in the ranks of the profession in the human psyche, not in the current crisis. It will take many years in society and the profession for the position of the journalist to be rebuilt. Mentioning the material conditions of the journalistic environment, Vice Premier Rakowski emphasized that if we are to strengthen the independence of trade unions and associations, the settlement of vital questions depends only on their activity. It is not true that the government has done nothing to improve the state of printing. Investigations are underway, but we must wait for their effects, for they will not produce printing machinery and devices in a few days. There will be a visible improvement in 2 or 3 years.

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The Institute of Socialist Countries of PAN [the Polish Academy of Sciences] has decided to change its name to the Institute of Socialism. This decision was taken at a meeting of the Scientific Council of the Institute. The name change is to reflect the fact that the Institute's activities have shifted from research on the socialist countries to research on socialism itself. The Institute will now focus on the development of socialist theory and practice, and on the study of the socio-political and economic changes taking place in European and other socialist countries.

BLOC AREA STUDIES INSTITUTE SHIFTS RESEARCH FOCUS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Sochacki: "A Reorientation in Academic Studies"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /What does the term "reorientation", so common today in our political and economic practices mean, within the activities of the Institute of Socialist Countries of PAN [the Polish Academy of Sciences]? For Dr Jozef Fiszer, the vice-director of the Institute, it is, above all, a return to the roles and functions which were set forth for this academic and research institution in the seventies, when it came into being, and which were never realized in practice./

The Institute now comes out of the background into the fore. For it, reorientation means, above all, /widespread interdisciplinary research on the world socialist system./

This is important politically, economically, and socially. We want to know significantly more about the socialist countries, about their changes and the processes going on within them, we both want to and must cooperate with them, not only on the level of the superstructure, but also in economics and in ambitiously outlined plans for the hastening of scientific and technological progress.

/Not long ago the Bureau of Scientific and Technological Policy for the Socialist Countries, directed by Docent Dr Eugeniusz Rudzinski, was created/ to study scientific and technological policy and cooperation. We now realize quite well that this was an important initiative for modernizing our policy in industry, economics, and management. With the generally known restrictions on cooperation with Western countries, which have been imposed to create political pressure, this gives us and our neighbors a chance for all parties concerned to benefit.

/The Institute of Socialist Countries is widening its interests to become a more political institution than it has ever been in the past./ Its planned tasks are to concentrate on the theories of the development of socialism, on the socio-political and economic changes in European and other socialist countries, on the processes of cooperation, rapprochement, and integration of

the socialist countries; it will employ a policy of socialist partnership toward the key international problems, and toward the fundamental, world, and regional groupings of the capitalist and developing countries, and also explore anti-communist doctrines.

The scientific output of the IKS [Institute of Socialist Countries] is varied and rich, considering the relatively short period of its activity. It consists primarily of publications, the preparation of source materials for more broadly conceived research, expert studies to help in the making of political and economic decisions, and the creation of a research workshop for interdisciplinary undertakings.

Among the publications of the Institute and its workers which have appeared this year are 134 monographs, approximately 680 scientific articles, and five collective works treating the most recent history and development of the USSR, the rise of socialist countries, Soviet foreign policy, Polish-Soviet relations, and 16 volumes of documents and materials concerned with the relations of all the socialist countries.

These facts result from cooperation and a close union among the scientific and technological institutions of the socialist countries and of direct contacts between scientists. The Institute attaches great weight to research work on anti-communist doctrines. This has special significance today since the ideological confrontation, with all of its consequences for international cooperation, has sharpened. We want to know more about our opponents and to gain deeper understanding of their intentions, so that we can be conscious of their goals and of the methods through which they intend to realize them. In the plans of the Institute topics can be found, such as: the world socialist system in the science and political thought of the West--the United States, West Germany, and England; the doctrine of the West German Christian Democratic Party toward socialist countries; research on the East (Ostforschung) in West Germany; and anti-communist doctrines in the United States.

/Much space is also dedicated in contemporary works and in those due to appear in the near future to the various fields of cooperation among socialist countries,/ which we have either neglected or not valued as highly as they deserve.

The primary concern here is for better recognition of the influence of the economic mechanisms for creating social labor productivity, the processes of structural changes in the European CEMA countries, and the changes taking place in industry, farming, and husbandry within the socialist European countries. Bearing in mind the new incentives in the economy and administration of the USSR, these changes will occur and pass by so quickly that they must also create a corresponding acceleration in scientific research, lest the scientists lose contact with life. The historical quality of the work obviously has its own cognitive value, but not much results from this in practice.

For those concerned, reading the works of the Institute is not only a conventionally interesting occupation, but also necessary for understanding what is going on around us, whether close by, farther away, or very distant.

Allow us to shatter the burdensome stereotypes, making a deeper understanding of the contemporary political vocabulary possible, and in this sense deal with the concept of "reorientation".

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BRIEFS

OLSZOWSKI'S TASS INTERVIEW--Moscow (PAP) A TASS interview with S. Olszowski was published in Thursday's edition of IZVESTIYA in the "Today's Topics" column. Olszowski is the minister of foreign affairs and a member of the PZPR Committee's Political Bureau. Dangerous developments in the state of international relations were the subject of the interview. Among other things, Minister Olszowski called attention to the threat caused by U.S. attempts to extend the arms race into outer space and by its attack on many international agreements, including the Yalta and Potsdam Treaties, which have become the basis of post-war order in Europe. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 85 p 7] 13073/13252

FOLK, NATIONAL CULTURE CONFERENCE--More than 120 scholars -- ethnographers, historians, theoreticians of culture, folk artists and village cultural life organizers -- are taking part in an all-Poland symposium, begun the eighth of this month at Jagiellonian University. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Nov 85 p 8] 13073/13252

FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY MEETS--The inaugural meeting of the Warsaw branch of the Polish-Japanese Friendship Society was held in Warsaw on the eighth of this month. The proceedings were begun by Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, the society's Main Administration president. Branch leaders were elected and Professor Stanislaw Piwowar became president. Susumu Matsubara, the Japanese ambassador, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Nov 85 p 8] 13073/13252

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH FRANCE--Jacques Boutet, the director général for Foreign Cultural and Scientific Affairs at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited Poland from the 4 - 10 of this month at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. J. Boutet held talks with R. Frackiewicz, the director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of the Media, Cultural and Scientific Cooperation. During these talks Polish-French cultural, educational and scientific-technical cooperation was reviewed, as were radio and television contacts. J. Boutet was received by the following: K. Zykulski, the minister of culture and art; Cz. Krolikowski, the vice minister of science and higher education; and M. Wojciechowski, the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 85 p 2] 13073/13252

ZSL ANNIVERSARY NOTED--A ceremonial meeting of ZSL members from the Tarnow voivodship took place in the club of the Nitrate Works on the ninth

of this month. It was held on the occasion of the 90th year of the organized peasants' political movement. The following took part in the meeting: Stanislaw Opalka, member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee in Tarnow; Jozef Kukulka, the vice president of the Chief Committee of the ZSL; members of the Sejm and representatives of province and city authorities. State awards were conferred on 77 active party members. The contribution of ZSL members in awakening the State and national consciousness of the Polish peasants in the fight for national social liberation, and later in the creation of a people's state, was recalled. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 85 p 2] 13073/13252

HISTORY EDUCATION PROBLEMS NOTED--The next conference in a series by the Working Group for History Education Issues was held and the proceeding were directed by the chairman, Prof. Marian Orzechowski, deputy member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee. A series of important issues dealing with the education and professional improvement of teachers and issues concerning the needs resulting from the present state of Polish education were discussed. Proposals were formulated whose implementation should promote more effective teaching of history in elementary and secondary schools. Professor Bronislaw Rotus, director of the Sciences and Education Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, took part in the discussions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2] 13073/13252

PARTY THEATER GROUPS MEET--(PAP) The Presidium of the All-Poland Party Theatre Troupe held discussions on the eleventh of this month in the Central Committee's Department of Culture. Professor Jerzy Adamski was the chairman. The presidium assessed the repertoire contents of dramatic theatres from the previous season and that planned for the current season. A visible improvement in the repertoire proposals was noted, particularly the growing number of proposals from Polish classic and contemporary plays. At the same time, they called attention to the necessity of better correlating the repertoire plans with practical creative talents which particular theatres have at their disposal. The presidium also discussed the state of preparations for the Tenth All-Poland Festival of Russian and Soviet Plays to be held in Katowice. Jerzy Bajdor, vice minister of culture and art, participated in the discussions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2] 13073/13252

ACADEMICIANS MAKE BAD POLITICIANS--Heaven protect us from governments run by professors! Governing is something for politicians, not for professors. One expects from politicians that they be men of action, referred to according to the principle that sometimes a wrong decision is better than passivity. Meanwhile, the duty of a scholar is to doubt, deferring judgement until he is certain that it is a judgement comprehensively documented and tested, only then assigning this judgement the value of a hypothesis. What is virtue for some is vice for others. What some treat as a fundamental duty may be an unforgettable offence in others. Of course, this does not mean that scholars cannot or should not

be allowed to hold political offices, including offices of great responsibility. This is possible and on all accounts much-desired, granted the candidate has the appropriate personal predisposition, which would allow him to "forget" the profession for which he was educated and completely identify with the profession he now practices, to use the terminology of the personal questionnaire. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 14] 13073/13252

RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL NECESSARY--...Society develops thanks to individuals who can think. One must keep in mind that progress is created by creative individuals. Individuals. They must be singled out and promoted. Otherwise, they will leave the country at the first opportunity, no matter how we view that. Later on we complain about the "brain drain" and how the West is depriving the poor of their specialists. But the truth is that a good specialist has to be bought, to use business language. Not only that, conditions must also be created for him to find a creative outlet for his talents. Do you remember the "Ferguson" affair? The Ursus plants had unprecedented achievements in tractor production and teams of experienced engineers, with their own concepts and ideas, which were by no means foolish. Then suddenly a decision about licensing was reached, and in one fell swoop experience went out the window. Everything this group of specialists had achieved was wasted, and I am not even mentioning the lack of respect for the work of these people. Thus, everything is not just a question of remuneration. Appreciation does not mean payment. Appreciation also means respect for the author and to keep him in mind. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 29 Sep 85 p 5] 13073/13252

SOCIETY NEEDS CULTURAL VALUES--In pantomime we work with our bodies, and the aspect of physical beauty is very critical here. Please, however, do not exaggerate this; pantomime through its universalism is interested in man in his wider context. I do not stage performances which are detached from life and from issues that affect us. It seems to me that the most important matter in art is to succeed in attaining that for which the viewer is waiting, even if he is unaware of it. During today's crisis we are conscious of our hunger for such values as love, kindness and simplicity. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 6 Oct 85 p 3] 13073/13252

FEWER PZPR REPS IN SEJM--"It has become evident that society does not want to change the number of seats in Sejm. A proposal for raising the number of representatives in the Sejm to 500 was rejected, and a proposal to lower the age limit from 21 to 18 was not approved. The question about the Sejm's structure was raised again, that of increasing non-party representation. A figure of 15 percent was mentioned. This postulate was voiced by the Tygodnik Powszechny, among others, independently of the discussion in the National Council of PRON. We acknowledge this argument to be valid. However, we reject the use of any criteria based on religion. Practically nowhere in the world are parliaments made up on the basis of a religious criterion. At present increases in non-party

participation take place at the cost of the PZPR and the other parties. All together non-party members have increased their number of mandates from 49 to 74. These were lost by the PZPR, ZSL and SD parties." [Text] [Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 9 Oct 85 p 14] 13073/13252

KRAKOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Provincial Defense Committee met in Krakow yesterday. Tadeusz Salwa, president of the city, presided over the proceedings. The topic of the session was problems in carrying out tasks in the field of housing construction as well as the present state and the outlook for telecommunication development in Krakow and the voivodship. Assignments were made in order to improve the implementation of tasks on schedule. Furthermore, the Provincial Defense Committee familiarized itself with the current state of public safety, law and order in Krakow. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 1] 13073/13252

BIELSKO-BIALA DEFENSE COMMITTEE--Problems of the socio-economic development of rural townships was the subject of the next session of the Provincial Defense Committee of Bielsko-Biala. The session was held yesterday in the township of Tomice near Wadowice. The voivod of Bielsko, Stanislaw Luczkiewicz, and members of the Provincial Defense Committee got acquainted with the fundamental problems of the locality, in particular those concerning health service, commerce and education. The results achieved in agriculture and the food industry were appraised as was the functioning of workplaces and craftsmen's shops. [Text] [Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Oct 85 p 4] 13073/13252

THEATER COOPERATION WITH MILITARY--A meeting took place on 24 January 1986 between the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Lt Gen Dr Tadeusz Szacilo, and the president of the Theater Actor's Union [ZASP], Tadeusz Jastrzebowski, and a group of leading union activists, namely: Witold Pyrkosz, Lidia Korsakowna, Irena Jezierska and Kazimierz Brusiliewicz. During the meeting the status of the implementation of the agreement for cooperation between the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army and the Theater Actor's Union was discussed within the context of the general situation of the dissemination of theatrical culture and the problems pervading the actors' milieu. In particular, questions were raised about the participation of the ZASP in the development of an amateur theater movement within the army and of inspiring playwrights and theaters to tackle patriotic and defense problems. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Jan 86 p 1] 12972/13045

PROVINCIAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS--Provincial defense committees [WKO] met in Leszno, Olsztyn and Suwalki. In Keszno the WKO evaluated the politics of the personnel and educational activities in the workplace, e.g. at the Leszczyński Building Plant "Metalplast" in Leszno and the Communal Tools Factory in Wschowa. In Olsztyn the WKO evaluated the implementation of defense tasks in individual administrative units and provincial workplaces in the previous year, it also familiarized itself with the workings of the regional recruiting commissions. They formulated proposals for improving civil defense and especially for developing the mass education of the population. The state of safety and public order and the phenomena of social pathology were the subject of the session of the WKO in Suwalki. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Jan 86 p 2] 12972/13045

CIVILIANS, MILITARY ENGINEERS MEET--On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw and the 40th anniversary of the institution of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT], a commemorative meeting took place organized by the Engineers and Military Technicians Club operating through the Capital Council of the NOT. During the meeting their work so far and directions for further activity were discussed. They pointed out the necessity for a deepening of the integration of the technical environments and close ties of cooperation with the civilian circles of the SNT [Scientific-Technical Association] of the NOT, especially in the area of promoting the development of new discoveries. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Jan 86 p 5] 12972/13045

SCOUTS, YOUTH AFFAIRS MINISTER TALK--On the 17th of this month, Vice Premier Zbigniew Gertych received the Headquarters of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] with its chief, Ryszard Wosinski. During the meeting, in which the minister for youth affairs, Aleksander Kwasniewski participated, there was a discussion of the implementation of the resolutions of the eighth ZHP convention, as well as the social, political, and economic conditions of the activists of this organization. Much time was devoted to the educational work of the scouts. The vice premier thanked them for their efforts and initiatives within the framework of the National Action for School Assistance. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

ANTICRIME COORDINATION EFFORTS--A meeting took place on the 17th of this month devoted to coordinating activities in fighting crime. Taking part were representatives of the departments of finances, domestic trade and services, foreign trade, agriculture, forestry and food management, health and social welfare, as well as the Polish Committee on Normalization, Measures and Quality, which has the powers of the Public Prosecutor in criminal and criminal-financial proceedings. The state of the crime threat was evaluated, and within this context the task of increasing the effectiveness of the fight against crime was discussed. The instructions for the further work of the government organs represented at the meeting in prosecuting crime were also discussed. The meeting was led by the prosecutor general, Jozef Zyta. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

LABOR COOPERATIVES DISCUSS PROBLEMS--The possibilities for development and the operating condition of the labor cooperatives were the subject of a meeting on the 17th of this month between Vice Premier Jozef Kozioł and representatives of the Central Union of Labor Cooperatives. The minister of domestic trade and services, Jerzy Jozwiak, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

SOCIALIST YOUTH ON HISTORICAL EDUCATION--A session of the presidium of the ZG ZSMP [Main Administration of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth] took place on the 17th of this month. It was dedicated to problems in the historical education of youth. A program of historical education was adopted which aims at establishing a framework of historical consciousness in the young with a full regard for the knowledge of the more than 100-year tradition of the Polish workers movement and the history of the progressive and

communist youth movement with regard to the 10-year legacy of the ZSMP. The presidium of the ZG ZSMP also considered problems concerning the lack of full rights for youth and approved materials for the fourth plenary session of the ZSMP, which will take place on the 18th of this month. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR AWARDED--In recognition of outstanding services in the development of cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Brazil, the National Council of the Polish People's Republic has awarded the present ambassador of the FRB in Poland, Armindo Branco Mendes Cadaxa, the Commandery Order of Service of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. The act of decoration was performed on the 18th of this month by the minister of foreign affairs, Marian Orzechowski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 85 p 5] 12972/9871

URBAN, GERTYCH HOLD PRESS COUNCIL TALKS--On the 18th of this month Vice Premier Zbigniew Gertych together with the government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, met with the Presidium of the Press Council. Problems were discussed which concerned the Press Council, its presidium and commission. Much time was particularly devoted to practical compliance with the articles of the press law by government offices and institutions as well as by journalists. Also discussed was the development of the material-technical base of the press, radio, and television in the coming 5-year period. This topic will be the subject of the next session of the Press Council. Jozef Krolikowski, the president of the Press Council, and members of the Presidium, Jan Bljak, Jerzy Grzybczak, and Alina Tepli participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 85 p 5] 12972/9871

INCREASED CUBAN TOURISM PLANNED--On the 12th through the 18th of this month a delegation of the Cuban tourist department visited Warsaw, with the first vice president of the Tourist Institute of the Republic of Cuba, Gustava Gutierrez Fonecilla. The delegation conducted discussions concerning the implementation of agreements made during the Polish delegation's visit to Cuba on the highest level, in conjunction with an essential broadening of tourist exchanges between Cuba and Poland. As forecasted in the next 5-year plan, the means for allowing an increase in the number of Polish tourists to Cuba to 6,000 annually was assured. The president of the GKKFiT [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism], Boleslaw Kapitan, met with the delegation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 85 p 5] 12972/9871

AMBASSADOR TO YEMEN RECEIVED--Cairo (PAP). The PRL ambassador to the Arab Republic of Yemen, Tadeusz Zareba, delivered his credentials into the hands of President Ali Abda Allah Salah in San'a. The desire for further development of friendly relations between the two countries was stressed in the conversation. President Salah highly valued Poland's activity in the struggle for peace and disarmament as well as her share in international cooperation, and he also expressed highest appreciation and thanks for her position in Middle Eastern affairs, for the consistent support of the Palestinian nation's right to self-determination and the

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creation of its own country. T. Zareba was also received by Premier Abda Al-Aziz Abda Al-Ghani. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 85 p 7] 12972/9871

POLISH WORKERS IN GDR--During his stay in the GDR, the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, Stanislaw Gebala signed protocols for 1986 on the employment of Polish workers in GDR companies and discussed problems concerning the further cooperation and exchanges of experience between our department and the GDR department of labor and wages. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

PROSECUTOR GENERAL, MASS MEDIA TALKS--A meeting between press spokesmen and provincial prosecutors took place in Warsaw, led by the prosecutor general, Jozef Zyta. The meaning of cooperation between prosecutors and mass media was emphasized, especially in preventing and fighting of crime and the phenomena of social pathology. Experiences and results concerning the practical application of the press law were discussed. The government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

PUBLISHING POLICY MEETING--On the 19th of this month a meeting took place in the Cultural Division of the Central Committee of the PZPR with workers of the Institute of Literary Research [IBL] on the status of the realization of the publishing program of the IBL. Agreements were made aimed at hastening the editing process of the most important publishing projects. The meeting was led by the director of the Central Committee's Cultural Division, Witold Nawrocki. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

PROVINCIAL ZSL COMMITTEES MEET--In Warsaw on the 19th and 29th of this month with the participation of members of the Presidium of the NK ZSL [Chief Executive Committee of the United Peasant Party] a meeting of presidents, vice presidents and secretaries of the provincial committees of the ZSL took place devoted to discussion of socio-political and economic problems of the country and the tasks of the party resulting from them, as well as a discussion of some aspects of the international situation. The president of the Executive Committee, Roman Malinowski, led the proceedings. There was a meeting with the consul of the USSR Embassy, Lew Wachramiejew, who informed them about the crucial problems of socio-economic development of the USSR to the year 2000 in light of the new edition of the proposed program of the KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

ZSL PRESIDIUM IDEOLOGICAL TALKS--On the 20th of this month a meeting took place in Warsaw of the Presidium of the NK ZSL with the central and provincial active members of the party. Performing an evaluation of the ideo-political and organizational activity of the party in 1985, the president of the Executive Committee, Roman Malinowski emphasized that his term was accompanied by an organizational strengthening, an increase in joint responsibility for the development of the villages and agriculture and a strengthening of the socialist state. In discussing the main tasks awaiting

the party in 1986, R. Malinowski indicated the necessity for further improvements of organizational efficiency and raising the ideological values of the ranks of members as essential conditions for implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, and also the resolutions of the chief and regional stages and circles of the ZSL. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

SPANISH FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY MEETS--A session of the Principal Administration of the Poland-Spain Society took place. The presidents of the provincial divisions took part in it. Information by representatives of the MHZ [Ministry of Foreign Trade] and the PIHZ [Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade] was heard about Polish-Spanish economic conditions. As was maintained, there is a possibility of vitalizing them. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21-22 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

'POLONIA ABROAD' PROPAGANDA PLANS--In Warsaw in the home of the "Polonia" Society, a meeting took place of the interdepartmental commission for matters concerning Polonia abroad. The topic of discussion was the activity of radio and television, as well as the press in popularizing the subject of Polonia in the country and abroad. Possibilities were discussed for broadening information activities, serving to create an honest picture of the socio-political, economic, and cultural life of contemporary Poland in Polonia circles, particularly those threatened by emigre circles and foreign environments hostile to People's Poland. The commission accepted a proposed plan for work for the coming year and also familiarized itself with the results of the Polonia action during the course of 1985. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

LOMZA DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--The Provincial Defense Committee [WKO] met in Lomza. It evaluated the safety and public order in that province. Members of the WKO approvingly received information on the decline in crime, especially of robbery and theft in the public and private sectors. This is the result of an increase in social discipline as well as effective repressive policies and preventive activities conducted by the prosecuting organ. A representative member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the minister of internal affairs, General at arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, participated in the session. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

SD PRESIDIUM TALKS--The Presidium of the Central Committee of the SD [Democratic Party] received information about the monetary-market situation of 1985 and about the state of the communal economy and its readiness for winter. The Presidium discussed matters connected with the preparations for the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the SD which will be called on 14 January 1986. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

RURAL YOUTH UNION, GERTYCH MEET--On the 21st of this month, Vice Premier Zbigniew Gertych received members of the leadership of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] along with the president of the ZK [Motion Picture Administration], Leszek Lesniak. During the meeting, in which the minister of youth,

Aleksander Kwasniewski, participated, the fundamental pervasive problems of the members and activists of the ZMW were discussed. The president of the ZK provided information about the course of the interview-electoral campaign, which employs the slogan "Tomorrow of the Polish Village". Much of the discussion was devoted to the conditions of youth activity in village and small town centers. The initiatives of the ZMW in intensifying and modernizing agricultural production were discussed with approval, as well as activities of the union within the framework of the National Action for School Assistance. Z. Gertych thanked the members and activists of the ZMW for their work so far. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 85 p 2] 12972/9871

AMBASSADOR TO JORDAN RECEIVED--Amman (PAP). On the 23rd of this month Jordan's premier, Azid Rifal received the PRL's ambassador to Jordan, Boguslaw Kaczynski. The state of cooperation between the two countries and perspectives for its development were discussed, especially in the economic sector, according to the agreements made during this year's meeting in New York between Wojciech Jaruzelski and King Hussain. The president of the Senate, Ahmed al Lauzi, the president of the lower house of the Jordanian Parliament, Akef Fajez, and an array of ministers also received the PRL ambassador. [Text] [TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-26 Dec 85 p 8] 12972/9871

CPSU, POLISH AMBASSADOR CONFER--Moscow (PAP). The Secretary of the Central Committee of the KPZR, Michail Zimianin, met with the PRL ambassador to the USSR, Stanislaw Kociolek on Friday. The conversation was conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec 85 p 7] 12972/9871

YUGOSLAVIAN TAX ISSUES EXCHANGED--Belgrad (PAP). On Friday at the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of the SFRY, documents were exchanged ratifying the agreement between the PRL and the SFRY on abolishing double taxation in areas of taxes on incomes and estates. The agreement was signed in Warsaw on 10 January of this year and ratified by the Council of State of the PRL on 26 July, and by the SFRY parliament on 29 October of this year. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec 85 p 7] 12972/9871

OPZZ, PZPR HOLD FACTORY TALKS--At the "H. Cegielski" Metal Works in Poznan on the 27th of this month the president of the OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz, accompanied by a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR, met with the personnel of three factories in their workplaces: the Forge (W-1), the Marine Engine Factory (W-2), and the Aggregate and Traction Engine Factory (W-9). A. Miodowicz was interested in working, social, and living conditions and occupational health and safety, and he familiarized himself with the production of these plants. There was also a meeting with union stewards. The president of the OPZZ presented the problems with which his organization was presently concerned. Among the most important was the collective system of labor for the individual branches. Work in this area is already advanced and everything indicates that in 1986 there will be four or five branches. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec 85 p 8] 12972/9871

JUSTICE MINISTER, PZPR CC MEET--On the 27th of this month the secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Baryla met with the leadership of the Ministry. The secretaries of the party organizations and members of the leadership of the ministry provided information about the working problems of the distribution of justice, and in particular about activities and aspirations of the department in strengthening the moral and vocational values of judges. Much emphasis was placed on the participation of the organs of justice in fighting crimes and social pathology, as well as in activities to educate society about political law. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec 85 p 8] 12972/9871

LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY DIRECTOR--On the 27th of this month a session of the administration of the Libyan Friendship Society took place, in which a new director of the society was elected: Pilot General Jozef Kowalski, director of the Polish Air Lines LOT. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Dec 85 p 8] 12972/9871

PZPR YOUTH RECRUITMENT EFFORT--In Piotrokow Trybunalski on the 21st of this month the provincial inauguration of the seventh decade of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] took place in conjunction with the pre-congress campaign in the PZPR and the preparations for celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the union. During the inauguration a group of more than 100 of the most active members of the ZSMP, among others young farmers and workers, received a union recommendation to enter the ranks of the PZPR and be candidates for legitimate party membership. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 86 p 2] 12972/13045

CSO: 2600/248

POLITICS

ROMANIA

DANISH PAPER REPORTS ON ROMANIAN LIFE, PROBLEMS

Consumer Goods Situation

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SØNDAG in Danish 2 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Michael Kuttner]

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania is today the most depressing country in Europe. Cold and dark homes, a disastrously low supply of consumer goods and constant surveillance on the part of the state--such are the conditions for most of the country's 22 million inhabitants. BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has visited Bucharest--a capital with an atmosphere of doom.

There is no master of ceremonies in tails; ostrich feathers and net nylons are packed away early in the evening in the nightclub of Hotel Athenee Palace nowadays, for the show--probably the only one of its kind in the capital of Romania right now--has to end at 9 p.m. Sally Bowles, personified by Liza Minnelli, is not present either. For the rest, an unrestrained atmosphere of doom prevails that would make the producer of "Cabaret" green with envy. Bucharest, formerly known as the Paris of Eastern Europe, today reminds one most of all of Berlin during the era of the Third Reich.

The city and its nearly 2 million inhabitants are practically in a state of emergency. Private automobiles are not permitted to drive along the broad avenues, all taxis were prohibited from operating about 10 days ago, and the military has taken over the operation of power stations. The mayor is a former minister of defense and general. The consumer goods situation is disastrous, hospitals and pharmacies do not stock the most vital drugs, corruption prevails everywhere, and the police--the uniformed police as well as the secret police--are present everywhere.

However, whereas Berlin in the thirties and the early forties had large foreign colonies and appeared almost daily on the front pages of papers throughout the world, Bucharest is today the most backward big city in Europe. Few foreigners visit the city, and even in the crowded nightclub nearly all of the guests are Romanians.

The embassies--in particular those of Western countries--are under constant surveillance. Nobody is allowed to enter their territories without informing

the police officers outside of the purpose of his visit. In front of the American mission on Tudor Arghezi Street, armed police officers see to it that nobody gets too close to the large showcases along the sidewalk, containing, among other things, a videotape player showing films from the United States. A few farsighted Romanians nevertheless try to catch a glimpse of the White House and President Reagan, appearing on the flickering screen.

#### Accomplishments of President

"It is hard to imagine that things can continue in this manner," an experienced Western diplomat says in a low voice. "Sooner or later, something is bound to happen."

Several Western observers concur that the Soviet Union may thus intervene. Either when the absolute ruler of the country, President Nicolae Ceausescu, for natural reasons, will be compelled to relinquish his reins--persistent rumors have it that he is seriously ill, possibly suffering from cancer of the bladder--and perhaps even earlier.

"Moscow's interest in Romania has increased considerably since Mikhail Gorbachev took over in the Kremlin," Western sources state, "and even if Ceausescu would like for his own family to succeed him, there seem to be no suitable candidates. His wife Elena, who is second in the hierarchy, and his son, Nicu, who is Minister for Youth Affairs, with a weakness for Western decadence, cannot expect any significant support from the Soviet Union. Elena appears to be of delicate health, and Nicu has not displayed any major talents as a statesman."

The difficulties of Romania are, to a large extent, attributed to Ceausescu himself. Ever since the now 68-year-old man, who, in all official photos, appears as a touched-up 40-year-old man, became secretary-general of the Communist Party in 1965 and 9 years later promoted himself to the presidency, he has endeavored to change the traditionally agricultural country into a modern industrial state. CEMA, the East European trade organization, protested because they preferred for Romania to remain the granary of the region. Ceausescu, however, borrowed billions of dollars from the West, and, in the mid-seventies, one modern factory after the other appeared.

At the time, the oil crisis set in, causing an unexpected increase in operating costs, and, since then, things have been going downhill. The establishment of a large oil refinery industry also proved to be an unsuccessful investment, and Western creditors started becoming concerned. Ceausescu reacted by promising to repay his country's debt by 1990 at the latest.

#### Cold Outdoors and Indoors

They are well on their way, but at the cost of the country's 22 million inhabitants. All products of reasonably good quality--especially agricultural products--are exported in exchange for hard currency. This is the background to a line of 160--one hundred and sixty--people in front of a fishmonger's

shop in Bucharest in the early morning hours one day last week. Silent,<sup>or</sup> patiently waiting in the cold of winter. Similar scenes were seen in other areas of the capital.

Temperatures in apartments seldom rise beyond 17-18 degrees Centigrade [62-64 degrees Fahrenheit]--an improvement since last winter when temperatures indoors in certain areas dropped to close to the freezing point. "But," inhabitants of Bucharest state, "this is not because the supply situation has become more tolerable but on account of the milder winter."

Last year several embassies, including the Soviet Embassy, sent the families of their diplomats home because there was no natural gas available for heating homes. The same thing applied to the power supply. Cocktail parties and official dinners took place in heavy winter clothing and lined boots. Since then, most embassies have installed oil furnaces and started importing fuel themselves. A few missions have even built their own electric power generators. Embassies renting their premises from their host country have had the costs of their oil furnace installations paid for by the Romanians.

"That, of course, is a positive feature," one diplomat says, "but, on the other hand, it shows that the Romanian leadership expects the present disastrous conditions to go on for a long time."

#### No Medications

There are no lines in front of certain shops. These are shops which either do not stock any goods or which stock goods for which the inhabitants have no immediate need--such as plastic toy banks shaped like yellow ducks for 15 lei or East German recorders for 98 lei.

There are food shops which offer 750 grams of potatoes for 9.25 lei, 1 kg of apples for 8.50 lei and 500 grams of fruit juice for between 3.50 and 6.50 lei.

And there are department stores which sell children's windbreakers for about 300 lei, men's shirts for 120 lei and dresses for 630 lei. Everything has to be paid for out of a monthly income which officially averages 3,000 lei. A waitress in a cafeteria, however, says that she has to manage on 1,300 lei.

But meat and eggs are often un procurable. In restaurants, it is hardly possible to read the menu cards because the lighting is kept at a minimum--and it is, in any circumstances, a question of fictitious prices, for most dishes are not available.

In a pharmacy in the center of Bucharest I witnessed a rapid service of customers. Every second or third customer with a prescription to be filled had to leave without receiving the medication requested because it simply was not in stock. A shop assistant in a perfumery advertising Romanian health food products in its show window reacted with a gesture of despair when customers wanted to purchase such articles. The exhibited Gerovital packages were empty.

One of the few fields which does not appear to have been affected by the crisis is the book market--or at any rate, the section of it which pays homage to Nicolae Ceausescu. A 664-page magnificent edition on President Ceausescu and the more graceful parts of his professional life is offered for sale for only 80 lei.

#### In the Worst Possible Manner

Against the background of a 48-hour stay in Bucharest, one may get the impression that the population seems to accept the existing situation with a mixture of impassiveness and fear. The vast majority of them do not have any experiences from the West with which to compare their own situation--even vacation trips to Eastern Europe are difficult to come by. The very few who, partly because of luck and partly because of good connections, are permitted to visit capitalist countries get a shock for life. One of them, a woman, said that she almost puked when she first entered a supermarket in the West and saw the large number of articles available.

All the while, things go on in the worst possible manner in the country which by visiting Westerners is now referred to as the Ethiopia of Europe. At Hotel Athenee Palace, where the temperature in the restaurant was the usual 16-18 degrees Centigrade [62-64 degrees Fahrenheit] and the temperature in my room, for unknown reasons, was 24 degrees Centigrade [75 degrees Fahrenheit], the loudspeaker played American pop music at full blast, one of the tunes being "Tell Me That You Love Me." I did not know whether to laugh or to cry.

#### Authorities Reveal Security Obsession

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SØNDAG in Danish 2 May 86 p 4

[Article by Michale Kuttner]

[Text] It was a Saturday morning at the Bucharest Otopeni Airport. After several security checks, customs checks, ticket checks and passport checks, I, BERLINGSKE TIDENDE's special correspondent, reached the transit hall. The red exit stamp had been inserted in my passport, and, according to my boarding pass, I was ready for flight 217 to Belgrade on the Romanian airline Tarom. The passengers were called out on loudspeakers. I was about to proceed to the gate when something happened.

Two uniformed men came up to me, asking me whether I was BERLINGSKE TIDENDE's special correspondent, Michael Kuttner. I confirmed it, whereupon the two men said, "Please follow us."

I obediently complied with their request (or was it an order?) and was told that they had to perform an additional security check. My passport had to be handed over anew and my luggage searched.

It was a strange form of security check--quite different from the first checks an hour earlier, where they were more interested in finding out whether my transistor radio and shaver worked (and whether I could spare a few Kent cigarettes). They now concentrated on other things.

Magazines, books, notebook pads and film rolls from a week of reporting were studied closely. They asked me which film rolls I had used for taking photos in Romania. One of my four rolls of film was identified as such.

Otherwise, they did not ask any questions. Official Yugoslav and Romanian propaganda material was placed in one pile, the rest in a second one. All of my film rolls were placed in the second pile.

The two men then disappeared with the interesting pile. They returned after approximately 20 minutes. The pile was again handed over to me, also my passport, and I hurried to the Tarom aircraft, which had been retained on account of the problematic passenger.

From Bucharest I flew to Belgrade and from there back to Copenhagen, where the films were developed. The negatives of all four film rolls were completely black. "Something has happened to them," the illustration editor said, and he was quite right.

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE informed the Romanian authorities of my 2-day stay in Bucharest 4 weeks in advance. BERLINGSKE TIDENDE requested assistance from the official Romanian press agency and notified them of four reporting desires. There was no reaction.

On my arrival in Bucharest, I immediately contacted the press agency, and, in a subsequent meeting, I was reprimanded for previous negative and untruthful articles, as has happened to other Western reporters.

Nevertheless, they stated that they would "seek to provide assistance." That did not happen--not until my departure, and the assistance then rendered was of an entirely different nature and in conflict with the Helsinki Accords on security and cooperation. Under the Helsinki Accords, reporters shall be given free access to take such things as undeveloped film rolls out of countries which have signed the accords. However, it is a decade since those accords were signed.

And this is then the reason why the main purpose of my trip, viz., the report on this page, is not accompanied by any new photos. However, the reader may instead study the front page of ROMANIAN NEWS [not reproduced]. That would gratify the official press agency and perhaps also the Danish-Romanian Society which, tonight, will celebrate its 15th anniversary with folk dancing and speeches at Bagsværd.

PHOTO CAPTION

1. Following the deaths of Brezhnev in the Soviet Union, Tito in Yugoslavia and Hocha in Albania, Romania is the only European country where a personality cult still occurs in the classical, communist fashion. Ceausescu is the general theme in nearly all papers, on the radio and in TV programs, in art exhibitions and at mass meetings. Here is a Romanian publication in English which reports on the homage paid by the people to their great leader on his birthday. There is no mention of age--in all photos, Ceausescu looks like a 40-year-old man, although he is 68.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIAN PARTY DISCUSSES POSSIBLE CHANGES IN LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 86 pp 12-13

[Article by Jelena Lovric]

[Text] Although at first glance it might seem strange, and indeed even out of place, it actually is not unusual at all for the party leadership to invest so much energy in the discussion about the party bylaws. There have already been meetings of the LCY Central Committee when almost the most interesting discussions, but unfortunately perhaps the most stubborn differences as well, occurred precisely in connection with the bylaws. That was also the case in last week's meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee, which quickly, with just a few suggestions, passed over the report covering the last 4 years--years that were marked by the most profound crisis in every respect--then to dwell on a discussion of the bylaws which lasted several hours. Which is not to mention that in the party leadership of Serbia, including here the provinces as well, it has been in the discussion of the bylaws that there were such great differences and such heavy words dropped that it will take a great deal of energy, goodwill, and time to get beyond them and get over them.

Although Jure Bilic was right when he said that the present unsatisfactory relations within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is not the fault of the present bylaws, but rather they were caused by the balance of power and by objective and subjective shortcomings, so that in that sense even the future bylaws cannot essentially alter relations within the party, still the efforts concerning changes in the bylaws that would be enacted by the next congress were determined by a desire--again drawing upon Bilic's assessment--to find in the bylaws a point of support for those forces in society and in the party that would alter reality by revolutionary activity. Creation of the party bylaws, like any other legal code, is inevitably bound up with thought for the future: they ought at least to contain definitions if not guarantees of what is desirable, they ought to help to frustrate what is undesirable. Probably many of the proposed changes were born out of an awareness that the party has been having ever greater difficulties in its practical operation and in achievement of its goals. Bylaws are always conceived in accordance with some vision, desires and hopes for the future are incorporated into them, but in any case everyone looks at that future--that is inevitable--from his own present perspective. This has been a feature of almost everything that has been said about the bylaws, and it probably will also determine the party discussion

when after the meeting of the LCY Central Committee (which is scheduled for 14 February) the drafts of the LCY Bylaws and the bylaws of the republic party organizations are sent to the "base."

A decision was made at one of the meetings of the LCY Central Committee not to enter the public discussion with alternatives, so that at the next meeting the party leadership has to take a position concerning what has so far been the most stubborn dilemma: how to organize the top of the party. One version is for almost everything to remain as it has been up to now, with the sole difference that the Presidium would be an executive-political body rather than the political-executive body it has been up to now, which some people consider an essential change of emphasis; while others proclaim it to be nothing more than a verbal sleight of hand. The second alternative would emphasize more strongly the role of the Central Committee, and in that context it proposes election of its chairman, but there are two subalternatives concerning the executive-political body: some favor election of an executive bureau, while others would stick with the Presidium.

#### A Confusing Formulation

It is expected that that dilemma--it could not be otherwise--will be decided by the vote. But it is also expected that at the next meeting of the LCY Central Committee there could be discussion and perhaps even polemics about a new provision of the bylaws recently conceived and provoked by the situation in the Serbian LC, in which a certain tension and lack of harmony between the provincial organizations and the republic organization as a whole has been felt sometimes stronger, sometimes not so strong, but mainly without going away. A solution worthy of Solomon has been found whereby a provision would be included in the party bylaws of each republic and province to the effect that the republic or provincial organization is independent and unified within the unified LCY. That formulation has already caused quite a bit of confusion as well as disputes. Thus Marko Lolic expressed reservations about definitions of that kind in a meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee, "because they shift the emphasis from the essence," and Dusko Dragosavac expressed the judgment that it could not withstand serious Marxist criticism and was out of line with the basic postulates of the party program. So long as we are talking about reactions in public, let us mention that Prof Zdravko Grebo has said at one party conference that "the formulation that supposedly has saved the day demonstrates our predisposition to use certain verbalistic phrases to cover certain solutions in which the real relation in conflict remains untouched."

In debating the draft of the bylaws of its own party organization the Croatian LC Central Committee presented significant differences. Although alternatives are not being presented for the partywide discussion, the party rank and file is to be thoroughly informed about all of this, so that whatever position it takes in these dilemmas, that, it has been said, will also be the decision taken by the party leadership after another discussion.

It seems that there are fewest dilemmas about organizing the party within associated labor, although significant innovations have been envisaged in this

area. In basic organizations, work organizations, and local communities divided into basic organizations a conference is organized which will take positions and adopt conclusions binding on all the basic organizations on the principle of democratic centralism. In work organizations divided into basic organizations, regardless of the number of sociopolitical communities in which they operate, a conference is established which after democratic discussion in all the basic organizations will adopt binding positions and take binding decisions concerning those matters in the common interest which were the reason why the OOUR's in fact came together to form the work organization. But when the conference discusses other current issues and problems, the decisions become binding only when accepted by all the basic organizations or when verified by the opstina committee in which the headquarters of the work organization is located. It is not quite clear--and certain members of the Croatian LC Central Committee have called attention to this--how the distinction will be made between "matters of common interest" and "current matters." A conference is also established in SOUR's as a standing form of linkage and activity; it may also adopt positions, but they become binding only when adopted by all the basic organizations or verified by the appropriate body of the LC. Which is not altogether clear either. Although these solutions recall in certain of their parts some which we have already had, party people refrain from referring to this as a step backward, and they stubbornly avoid any mention whatsoever of factory committees, since they seem once to have been the extended arm of technocratic structures.

#### "Croatian Criteria"

It is altogether unclear how the party at the university will be organized. It is only known that something has to be altered rapidly and fundamentally, since the party linkage of the schools of the university with opstina committees where they are located has tended to weaken the party precisely where young people and society's intelligence are concentrated. Even those who a few years ago advocated the present solutions are now openly admitting their mistakes.

The most numerous dilemmas have for the present occurred concerning the organization and election of the party leadership at both the federal and republic levels. It was proposed in the meeting of the LCY Central Committee that the Central Committee elect its own chairman rather than the chairman of the Presidium. This, argue the proponents, would kill at least two birds with one stone: It would give greater affirmation to the Central Committee, and election of the first person, who in spite of the proclamations concerning the collective effort still has a very essential influence on the work of the party and the overall social and political processes in a particular republic, would not be a matter of just the 15 or so members of the Presidium. It is absurd in the opinion of Branko Puharic for the Central Committee not to have any influence whatsoever on election of the first person in its own ranks. He also proposed that in future the chairmanship of the Central Committee not be limited to members of the Presidium, but that all members of the Central Committee compete on an equal footing for that position.

Yet there was the greatest debate in the Croatian LC Central Committee over a provision contained in the so-called "personnel criteria" which has now been incorporated into the draft of the bylaws as well. It has to do with a restriction whereby an individual could be elected to certain party bodies of leadership only twice in succession, and a third time only as an exception and with a special justification if the appropriate party body so decides. There is no such provision in the federal bylaws, there is only the restriction that an individual may not be elected more than twice to an executive-political body, and there is no dispute about that. The debatable "specific Croatian feature concerning personnel" has already aroused polemics on several occasions and sharp confrontations, and this, as Branko Puharic has openly said, is no harmless matter. Differentiation on that basis, he added, is "politically harmful, since on the one hand it turns out that some of our most distinguished comrades are calling those criteria into question because they are protecting their personal interests or, on the other hand, that this Central Committee is adopting criteria whereby it would like to deal with the revolutionary services of a number of our most distinguished personnel." Puharic thinks that neither is accurate and also that neither should be avoided. "That is why we all have to strive for a higher degree of responsibility in a situation which is extremely complicated and within which that type of confrontation is not politically welcome even for the prestige of this Central Committee and the leading personnel from Croatia, but it is especially unwelcome from the standpoint of political-ideological unity which at this point we need more than ever over the last 20 or 30 years," Branko Puharic said.

The personnel criterion which is causing so much discord is being contested with two types of arguments. One type of argument has been presented by Milutin Baltic, who describes this criterion as unreasonable. He has expressed a fear "lest we be taken in by a decision whereby some people who want to cut short as soon as possible everything that has to do with self-management, everything that is communist, everything that carries the revolution forward." Baltic attempted to support his opposition with arguments about continuity and the shortage of personnel, since, as he said, "it is still true that men are not born as easily as chicks hatched from eggs, so that we might now have people, when we want them, who can take on responsibility for running the government." In his opinion more time is needed for development of personnel, on the one hand for them to gain knowledge and experience, and on the other for the rank and file to gain confidence in them, and at this point it is as though we constantly have to start over from the beginning. "The government and this society cannot keep on attending elementary school," Baltic concluded.

#### Firefighting Measures

The line of argument of Stipe Suvar, who in short thinks that the proposed criterion cannot yield those results for which it was presumably conceived, sounded quite differently. After all, in Suvar's opinion, the problem is not one-third of the Central Committee which certainly is not changing at all, but the problem of a political nucleus in which individuals only change places, but they remain constantly in the orbit of power. "We have people, or we have had them up to now, perhaps that was in fact inevitable, since it dated back to the National Liberation Struggle, and those nuclei had always remained:

They went from one central committee to another, or they were on both, or they held all possible positions. This criterion does not guarantee us that this will not happen in the future." Suvar calculated that even under those "stricter" criteria adopted in order to combat professionalism and the same people from always circulating in the corridors of power, an individual could remain in the most distinguished posts "for 80 years, I swear it." He presented a figure whereby since 1948 there have only been 400 members of the Croatian Central Committee, and if you look at a list of the names "it would be clear what we are dealing with: which people had access to everything and which only came and went to keep up appearances." He therefore proposed that instead of limiting the term of office two candidates be proposed for every position on the central committee, and let the congress make a choice. That would be much more important, since the party, Suvar thinks, knows quite well who is worth how much and how much he works.

Branko Puharic, who incidentally is one of the most fiery and convincing advocates of the "personnel criteria," admitted on this occasion that some of that criticism deserves attention. "If on the slates there are 50 percent more candidates than positions to be filled, then that is a different situation, then the essential thing is no longer who is on the central committee, but the essential thing is how much a particular person has the confidence of the rank and file," Puharic concluded.

Certainly we cannot fail to note the brief, but inspired speech by Ema Derossi Bjelajac, who recalled that the League of Communists, in an effort to prevent bureaucratization and professionalization of personnel and all of the negative repercussions that follow therefrom, has taken various steps--rotation, re-election, restriction of the term of office, that all of that has contributed to democratization of relations in the League of Communists and in society, but that it should not be forgotten that all those are instruments of passive personnel policy which hurts both those who perform and those who do not by applying the same standard. But there should be reflection within the framework of a vigorous personnel policy which could be conducted only in the context of advance democratic relations. Therefore, Ema Derossi believes, the emphasis should be placed on democratization of the electoral process, of both the nominating and the voting, and that there should not be excessive reliance on automatic mechanisms.

However, in spite of such strong and well-argued support to the democratization of personnel policy, it seems that the prevailing assessment has nevertheless been that in the present situation it is better and more realistic to resort to a firefighting set of measures as some people perceive some of the personnel criteria adopted. But these partial solutions, regardless of the noble intentions--and presumably there is no reason to doubt those intentions--also have a number of defects, and their greatest--although there is a certain change in the line up of forces--they nevertheless do not touch that basic balance of power between the party rank and file and the leadership. And without that there is no democratization of either personnel policy or of overall policy. Not to mention the fact that it is possible to create the appearance of essential changes, and that might perhaps become an alibi for not changing anything very essentially.

There is no reason to doubt that in the party discussion the rank and file also has something to say in all these dilemmas. It is another matter--one which is yet to be seen--whether they will also treat the limitation on the term of office as the central topic or something else will take on greater weight from their viewpoint. But it should not be forgotten that the bylaws themselves, though they might even be perfect, cannot solve all the outstanding issues, dilemmas, and problems in the League of Communists and society. The organizational question is a political question of the first water, but still the bylaws cannot replace ideological-political action and guarantee greater effectiveness and unity of effort by the members, by the basic organizations, and by the bodies of leadership of the League of Communists.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

STEPS TO HALT SERB, MONTENEGRIN EXODUS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 86 pp 19-21

[Interview with Refik Agaj, member of the Executive Council of SAP Kosovo and chairman of the Commission for Halting the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins From Kosovo, by Nadira Avdic-Vilasi: "Fewer Channels for Emigration"; date and place not given]

[Text] It is in the long-term interest of the Kosovo community and of the country as a whole to halt the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as soon as possible, and that regardless of the causes, which are numerous and often intertwined--from the consequences of the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in the form of specific psychological and political pressure, creation of an atmosphere of insecurity and distrust, all the way to the army of 120,000 unemployed, which has also had an influence toward creating an atmosphere of a lack of prospects for life in Kosovo.

The emigration has been dropping off year after year; many who intended to go are giving up the idea, and we cannot overlook the contribution of the returnees--those who are returning to Kosovo and whose number is increasing day after day. We talked about all of this with Refik Agaj, member of the Executive Council of SAP Kosovo and chairman of the Commission for Halting the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins From Kosovo.

[Question] An assembly is announced in March as a "new chapter" in solving the serious problems of halting the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo; following public discussion the assembly is supposed to adopt a program of measures and actions for return of the emigre Serbs and Montenegrins who want to return and live and work in the province. What exactly is expected from that program?

[Answer] There are two documents in question. One was adopted 2 months ago, and that actually consisted of supplemental measures (with respect to those adopted in 1982) for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, from which we expect results this very year. The assembly has placed an obligation upon all bodies and OUR's to be more active and mobile so as to prevent hostile activity more effectively and to create a more favorable political climate for strengthening interethnic trust and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in Kosovo in all forms of social and economic

life. These supplemental measures have defined more precisely the tasks of administrative agencies and judicial authorities in order to resolve more effectively those problems which have an impact toward emigration. As for the program proposed for the return of those who have emigrated, it is supposed to solve certain specific problems. Although it has not been adopted, some opstinas and OUR's are using it. Incidentally, so far 2,300 of those who moved away have returned to Kosovo. Interest is high, but it is dependent upon the creation of jobs. Whereas the supplemental measures are aimed at helping young people not to leave and at preserving the present composition (so that one out of every four Montenegrins is employed, one out of every five Serbs, and one out of every nine Albanians), the program proposed for return of those who have left is supposed to provide support and aid to all those who should return.

[Question] What does this look like in practice?

[Answer] Many have left and taken jobs outside Kosovo, but they have left their wives and children. Because of their families they still have one foot in the old place, and our community must create the conditions for such people to return. That is why we are appealing for all those who so wish to return regardless of what the reason for their departure was. The province's associated labor has committed itself to hiring without competition all those who had been employed in Kosovo collectives. All Serbs and Montenegrins who were unemployed when they left and have found jobs outside the province, upon presentation of a certificate that they have been employed for a year, shall apply in competitions and shall receive a written recommendation from the Commission for Halting the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins From Kosovo, which gives them preference over other applicants.

[Question] Has something already been done?

[Answer] Quite a bit. As we have said, 2,300 people have returned, about 700 of them have been hired in OUR's, a number that should not be underestimated, although the effort is supposed to take on full proportions only with the new program of measures. In those opstinas where there are few members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities living, i.e., between 5 and 10 percent of the total population, all able-bodied Serbs and Montenegrins will be employed. There will no longer be unemployed Serbs on the rolls of employment security offices in Djakovica, Srbica, Podujevo, Kacanik, Vucitrn.... However, these measures will be short-lived unless the broader community accompanies them with specific actions and more rapid development of Kosovo, since all of this is feasible only within the limits of the Kosovo economy's capability.

[Question] In the news media there is rarely optimism on the question of emigration.

[Answer] Sometimes people do not wish to see the efforts being made by the subjective forces and the results. There are many responsible people who take a partial view of this problem because they are uninformed, there are those who speak irresponsibly about this topic, which is very harmful and actually encourages emigration, and all of this plays into the hands of the Irredenta. This includes religious appeals, the Kosovo Polje "petition," and the like.

[Question] What is the situation at present concerning the emigration?

[Answer] There are quite a few cases when those who emigrate have difficulty getting their bearings in the new environment, and slowly they turn into managers of a sort, they look for jobs and building lots for their relatives and friends from the native region, and thus there are some who encourage others to emigrate. In actuality the migrational movements usually begin with educated people. These are those on whom Kosovo's sociopolitical development depends--specialists, physicians, teachers, sociopolitical figures--this has tended to increase the psychosis of insecurity in those who objectively found themselves in a difficult position. The escalation of Albanian nationalism in 1981 and the psychological and political consequences, the psychosis of distrust which has been created, and on the other hand the departure of educated people, the articles in the press...all of this has truly tended to make the position of the Serbs in Kosovo difficult, which is not far from the decision to move away--to find a job, to exchange a dwelling, to purchase a building lot.... As a matter of fact this departure of specialists, pharmacists, and teachers intensifies the sense of insecurity.

[Question] In a conversation with the delegation from the SFRY Assembly you recently said that many members of the party, and indeed even sociopolitical figures and others who have completely settled the problems of their employment, housing, and the like, and in no way have suggested emigration, have purchased land and have begun to build houses outside the province. What does that mean?

[Answer] It could mean a great deal, but it need not. About 1,500-2,000 such prestigious people already have property outside the province. They are potential candidates for emigration, but whether they move away or not still depends on many things. The essence is in the attitude of "let it be there if we need it." And in spite of the reaction to such cases, I think that we should not open up a front against those people, but should be flexible--guarantee them good jobs, elect them to office, simply win them over to bind their own plans to this community.

[Question] Key personnel are also mentioned when there is discussion of encouragement of emigration.

[Answer] It is not only those who have purchased land, but also sociopolitical figures who have left Kosovo. After the war they have constantly been given certain posts in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. They have left Kosovo forever and found good places where they have gone, but such prestigious figures were necessary not only to the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, but to all of us in the province regardless of our nationality. And their departure tended to arouse a feeling of insecurity in the others, since the latter think that those who know best about what should be done have departed.

[Question] Recently there has been talk about the intertwining of political and psychological motives with economic motives for emigration.

[Answer] The motives continue to be numerous and they differ from place to place, from family to family. The intentions of the enemy were frustrated in 1981, but the psychosis of fear and insecurity, intertwined with economic motives, has remained and has driven people to leave. In addition, Albanian nationalism and irredentism is continuing under the new conditions with slogans, pamphlets, usually using minors to do its dirty work. Then there is the hostile emigre community, propaganda from Albania. All of this instills restlessness and insecurity in everyone, especially the Serb and Montenegrin population, and encourages them to move away.

The other motive for emigration is economic: although it is "older" than the first, i.e., it has lasted and will last much longer unless Kosovo develops faster both from the economic standpoint as well as the rise in the standard of living. One out of every 10 citizens in Kosovo is working, and it has been like that for some 20 years now, half of the more than 120,000 unemployed have secondary or junior or senior postsecondary schooling. Personal incomes are low (the average personal income is less than 3 million dinars), and 30,000 workers in the construction industry and textile industry live on a personal income which is less than 2 million dinars. Under those conditions anyone who can get a higher personal income, especially if he is a specialist, decides to leave. This is a channel that is always open for emigration from Kosovo.

[Question] Are there many other things encouraging emigration?

[Answer] Aside from those psychological and economic motives, family feeling, the feeling of the minority, and other reasons, when they are all taken together, encourage emigration and fit entirely into the program of the Irredenta concerning an "ethnically pure Kosovo." A maximum commitment and well-conceived political approach to the entire set of problems are demanded of us all. What we have achieved in 4 years is not enough, since we have not halted the exodus. That is why it is indispensable that we understand that we are all communists together, regardless of whether we come from Kosovo, more broadly from Serbia as a whole, or from Yugoslavia, and that we have to frustrate the realization of this kind of hostile program. At this moment the most powerful support to the progressive forces are the decisions made by the Serbs and Montenegrins themselves to remain in Kosovo and to join us in strengthening brotherhood and unity, the spirit of community, not only in Kosovo, but indeed more broadly. The problem of halting the emigration cannot, as we once thought, be solved only by the Albanians and Albanian personnel in Kosovo. This can only be done in concert by the Albanians and the Serbs and the Montenegrins and all the rest. I draw a lesson from the war--everything can be done in concert, but if that common struggle does not take place, the results will always be inadequate and unsatisfactory.

[Question] Are there prospects of one day overcoming that exclusively ethnic approach to the problems?

[Answer] Political activity must come first and must be stronger than all the measures being taken against the enemy, but with the force of arguments we must suppress the harmful and perfidious activity of the nationalists. Halting the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and return of a portion

of those who have moved away signifies victory over the Irredenta, but also a triumph over the Albanian and Serbian nationalists who are jointly trying to upset interethnic relations as much as possible. I am certain that all of this will pass, and that all the problems of life will be the same in Kosovo as they are in other places, and the excesses that occur will not assume an ethnic dimension.

[Question] What is your opinion about the possibilities of saying one day that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo has been halted?

[Answer] The length of time this problem continues to be an urgent one depends on implementing the views and documents which have been adopted. If we carry them out consistently and constantly improve the political and security situation, if there begins to be traffic in both directions--departure and return of Serbs and Montenegrins, I anticipate that in a year or 2 the emigration will be reduced to normal migrational movements. To illustrate: 817 Serbian and Montenegrin families moved out in 1982, 451 families left in 1983, 271 families in 1984, and about 170 families in 1985, which means 100 families fewer than in the previous year. If that number is reduced by 70 families moving away in a year or 2, we can assume that the emigration under pressure has been halted, that is, even then it will no longer be possible to speak about emigration under pressure. Of course, and I repeat it once again, this depends on the further stabilization of economic and political conditions in Kosovo and on the steps being taken to halt the emigration and to bring back those who want to live in Kosovo.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

POLAND

SPECIAL TRAINING EQUIPMENT FOR SUPERSONIC, SPACE FLIGHT

Warsaw HORYZONTY TECHNIKI in Polish No 12, Dec 85 pp 5-7

[Article by Anna Cichocka-Korgul: "Pilot Testing"]

[Text] We have still not "dotted the i" in modern aviation. Flight ceilings and velocities and take-off power continue to rise. Pilots often find themselves in stressful situations and their organisms are exposed to harmful conditions such as excessive loads, temperature changes and low oxygen. The pilots of supersonic aircraft in particular must pass very precise physical tests. In Poland, such tests are conducted at the Military Institute of Aviation Medicine [WIML] with its modern equipment for simulating high-altitude conditions.

WIML also participates in the Interkosmos program, one of whose most recent achievements is a personal computer for physiological testing of cosmonauts.

The Struggle Against Anoxia

At high altitudes and therefore under lower pressure, the human organism responds differently than under normal pressure. For example, visceral gases (about 1 liter) decompress and press upwards through the diaphragm against the solar plexus. This can cause apnoea which is dangerous to the organism.

During flight at very high altitudes, the human organism experiences hypoxic anoxia caused by the lower molecular pressure of oxygen. At altitudes of up to 2000 meters, the effects of reduced pressure are practically imperceptible but as the altitude increases beyond that point, the effect is felt more strongly. The physiological altitude ceiling is 4500 meters and man cannot remain at that altitude under normal conditions and without special training because of anoxia which causes headaches, somnolence, delayed reflexes, impaired hearing and sight, loss of consciousness and finally death.

Before and during World War II, pilots were equipped with apparatus that provided them oxygen-enriched air or pure oxygen. These were called oxygen masks. However, airplanes could not fly above an altitude of 12,000 meters

because even with such apparatus, pilots still suffered adverse effects at those heights. At an altitude of about 13,000 meters, atmospheric pressure is 165 hPa (124 mm Hg). Even if a mask provides pure oxygen, then due to the counter pressure of water vapor and carbon dioxide found in the lungs, the oxygen pressure in the alveoli is barely 63 hPa (47 mm Hg) which means that it reaches the lower limit for normal functioning of the lungs.

It was only the design of air-tight cockpits that allowed pilots to break the ceiling of 12,000 meters. Such cockpits maintain a pressure level close to that found on the surface of the Earth. For example, modern passenger jets maintain pressure roughly equal to that found at the peak of Gubalowka and this allows passengers to breath freely without the use of oxygen bottles.

Much lower pressure is found in the cockpits of modern fighter aircraft which are of course hermetically sealed but the pressure is equal to that found at an altitude of 8000 meters. Respiration of such rarified air under conditions of great psychological effort is impossible and will inevitably lead to the death of the pilot, therefore the crews of combat aircraft are equipped with oxygen masks providing pure oxygen which protects them against anoxia. At altitudes above 12,000 meters, the oxygen is pressurized and the phenomenon of respiratory hypertension is employed. Breathing pressurized oxygen takes a certain amount of effort. Inhalation is very deep and pronounced while exhalation is preceding by blowing to overcome the resistance of valves or the pilot breath back in the air just expelled from his lungs (rerespiration).

The human organism's tolerance to anoxia is studied in low-pressure chambers. Once a year a pilot should be tested in such a chamber. The test chamber is a 50 m<sup>3</sup> cylinder covered by a flattened copula and hermetically sealed with a metal valve. Along the circumference of the cylinder are placed small windows allowing observation of the test subjects within. The chamber is large enough to hold 12 pilots. During the tests, each of these pilots is connected to a physiological monitor which records the functioning of their circulatory and respiratory systems.

On the outside of the chamber is a variometer that indicates the simulated upward velocity of an airplane, an altimeter showing the "altitude" at a given instant and a clock showing the exact time. Constant radio contact is maintained between the test subject (within the chamber) and the physician conducting the test and this is used by the pilot to inform the doctor about how he feels.

Three types of tests are conducted in low-pressure chambers. The first, which last 30 minutes, are carried out at the pressure level found at 5000 meters. This is where the organism's tolerance to anoxia is checked. Every pilot must undergo this test as well as stewardesses and flight crews. The test is conducted without oxygen masks. If someone begins to feel ill within 30 minutes, they immediately receive oxygen and usually recover. The second type of testing is conducted only on pilot candidates. The organism's resistance to the effects of altitude is checked. The reaction of the organism and especially that of the ears, nasal sinuses and viscera to low pressure is checked. Before entering the chamber, the pilot-candidate breathes pure

oxygen for 30 minutes to eliminate all nitrogen from his bloodstream. He then spends 30 minutes under low pressure in the chamber to simulate the effects of an altitude of 10,000 meters. During this test, the subjects wear pressure suits and oxygen masks.

The third type of tests, the so-called ear and sinus barofunction, are conducted only under the special recommendation of a medical establishment. The subjects are introduced for one minute to the conditions of 5000 meters altitude and then to a sharp drop to normal pressure. This is done to test how well their ears and sinuses respond to sudden changes of pressure.

#### Altitude Sickness

High altitudes are associated with the problem of the boiling of anatomical fluids. At altitudes greater than 19,000 meters, the atmospheric pressure barely reaches a level of 63 hPa (47 mm Hg) at which water will boil at 37° C. This means that the body fluids of a person without any protection at such altitudes would begin boiling.

For protection against anoxia, temperature changes or quick pressure changes due to sudden cockpit decompression, pilots wear pressure suits that maintain a pressure level within their bodies higher than that of the environment. Aside from a tightly-fit body suit, the gear consists of pressurized sleeves, socks and a helmet (which also functions as an oxygen mask). If there is a sudden drop in pressure, the pilot's body gases expand and exert pressure against the suit whose rubber tubes cushions automatically fill up with oxygen at a pressure of 980 hPa or higher. The suit "stretches" and exerts a counterpressure on the pilot's body. Under very high levels of pressure stress, the suit prevents the circulation of blood from the upper part of the body to the lower.

A pilot's vision is also affected by high-altitude flight. For example, during decompression, the nitrogen gas released within the body can cause serious disruptions to the pilot's vision. At high altitudes, the pilot can also experience short-sightedness. This is caused by the fact that at normal surface pressures and conditions, the eye can accommodate itself in order to focus precisely on objects at any distance while under flight conditions, the eye of the pilot cannot find any sharply-defined object to focus on except the tips of his wings and this increases short-sightedness to 0.5-1 diopter. For that reason, a pilot's vision is tested very precisely under changing conditions with the use of a dynamoscopometer connected to a computer. The main component of the dynamoscopometer is a projector mounted on a stand that can revolve at varying speeds. Opposite the projector is a semicircular oblong screen which displays projected images of Landolt rings (differently-oriented broken circles). The test subject is required to correctly identify them and respond by pressing buttons on a console. The rings can move at speeds from 1 to 150 degrees per second. The speed and size of the rings are programmed by the computer.

These tests also consider the risk of decompression or the dehermetization of the cockpit due to sudden equalization of pressure. Observing the organism's

behavior under these conditions, scientists and doctors try to determine the human body's tolerance to such sudden pressure changes. To simulate sudden dehermetization, WIML has constructed a one-man test cockpit in which pressure changes can occur within 0.34 seconds.

This test cockpit simulates the conditions of high-altitude supersonic flight and therefore a temperature of about 20° C, sudden pressure drops to 267 mm Hg (altitude of 8000 meters), noise and vibration. The pilot wears a pressure suit and oxygen mask. Pressure is equalized over a period of time more or less equal to the conditions that occur under rapid dehermetization of the cockpit at high altitudes (as caused, for example, by cockpit damage in combat). During testing, the pilot's breathing and heart rate are monitored and X-ray photographs can also be made.

Supersonic jet pilots and fighter pilots undergo these tests which are used to find ways to save their lives under these conditions.

During high-altitude flying, pilots are also subjected to thermal shock. In sudden climbs to 12,000 meters where the air temperature is -52° C, the pilot experiences a sudden temperature change of nearly 100 degrees and on a hot day, the temperature within the cockpit can be as high as 50° C. Studies of the human body's tolerance to sudden temperature changes are conducted in a thermobar chamber which can produce temperatures within a range of 65 and -75° C. The body is protected against cold and thermal shock by a suit with built-in heating elements.

#### Body Weight of 500 Grams?

In the acceleration pathology laboratory, pilot resistance to stress is tested. Every supersonic aircraft pilot has to undergo testing every two years and is subjected to loads of 5.5 gravities. Cosmonaut-candidates are tested at levels of up to 8 gravities.

The pilot's resistance to g-force is tested in a centrifuge that is operated according to three programs (linear acceleration, tolerance to set accelerations and intervals). The linear program evaluates the pilot's ability to adapt to growing levels of acceleration at a constant speed of 0.1 g/s. In the tolerance program, the time of total adaptation of the pilot's body to acceleration of a constant value is checked. In the interval program, the pilot is subjected to a series of changing levels of acceleration.

The domestically-designed centrifuge consists of a 9-meter long arm holding an air-tight cabin. The centrifuge is controlled by an operator from a control panel behind a window. From the control panel, the motion of the centrifuge can be observed and all body functions such as the heart rate, ECG, EEG, respiration, blood pressure, reflexes, etc. are monitored. This data is recorded in the form of a graph. A separate television monitor allows observation of the face of the test subject. Within a few seconds, the face becomes unrecognizable as the nose and cheeks flatten, lips are parted and pressed downward and eyelids droop.

The control panel displays the digital indicators of acceleration: 2.3 g, 2.4...3.5 g, 3.6 g... Meanwhile, what is happening with the test subject? His eyes reflect a semicircle of irregularly colored lights within the cabin. His response to seeing the lights is to press a button held in his hand. As long as the subject responds to lights, the centrifuge continues accelerating. However, at the instant that acceleration pressure causes the blood to flow out of the vessels leading to the eyeballs, the central nervous system experiences anoxia. The field of vision begins to shrink until it disappears completely. This is the signal to stop the centrifuge. Were the centrifuge to continue accelerating, the pilot would lose consciousness and for that reason, the pushbutton in his hand is equipped with a safety lever. If he wishes to stop the centrifuge, he pushes the lever which sends an audio signal to the operator to shut off the motor. Constant radio contact is maintained with the pilot. The centrifuge can produce acceleration reaching 30 g within the space of three seconds.

#### A Pilot Must Be Fit

Pilots must regularly pass physical examinations of their physical fitness because the efficiency of the circulatory changes with age. It sometimes turns out that a lack of any symptoms of illness does not at all mean good health. All defects of the organism, even minor ones, are revealed during examinations in which the body is subjected to great exertions. A cycloergometer is used to test the performance of the circulatory system. This apparatus looks like an exercise bicycle and is hooked up to a device that varies the resistance of the pedals. The test subject is connected by sensors to a cardiac monitor that records his ECG and pulse. The pedal resistance and therefore physical exertion is varied in relation to the heart beat. The body's efficiency is then read from a table. The recorded ECG's allow doctors to detect all changes that are hard to read from normal ECG's. If any deviations are found, the pilot must undergo a very strict clinical examination to determine the cause which is most often coronary illness.

#### Photograph Captions

##### Thermobar chamber at WIML

The entrance to the low-pressure chamber. In the background are the pilot seats and the oxygen apparatus. A television camera on the ceiling records pilot behavior during testing.

The centrifuge designed by WIML with the pilot's cabin at the end of a 9-meter arm.

##### Inside the decompression chamber

Preparing the pilot for testing in the centrifuge.

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